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ITALY:

REMARKS MADE IN SEVERAL VISITS

FROM

THE YEAR 1816 TO 1854.

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BY THE

RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHTON, G.C.B.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

2-8-20

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1859.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

PREFACE.

I PUBLISH these little volumes with much hesitation. They treat, for the most part, of times long past, and refer to a country now made accessible by a few hours' journey and familiar to us by every mode of illustration. It is more than a hundred years ago that Johnson, reviewing a work called 'Memoirs of the Court of Augustus,' said of it,—the "book relates to a people who "above all others have furnished employment to the "studious and amusement to the idle; who have "scarcely left behind them a coin or a stone which has "not been examined and explained a thousand times; "and whose dress and food and household stuff it has "been the pride of learning to understand." This remark must apply, in part, to any work that treats either of Rome, or Italy under its Roman masters; and if it was true in 1756, with how much greater force must it apply to a book published after an interval during which archæological studies, and particularly those which relate to Rome, have made greater progress than at any former period!

I should not, indeed, have ventured upon such a publication but for the following circumstance.

When I rejoined Lord Byron at La Mira, on the banks of the Brenta, in the summer of 1817, I found him employed upon the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold,' and, later in the autumn, he showed me the first sketch of the poem. It was much shorter than it afterwards became, and it did not remark on several objects which appeared to me peculiarly worthy of notice. I made a list of those objects, and, in conversation with him, gave him reasons for the selection. The result was the poem as it now appears, and he then engaged me to write notes for the whole canto. I performed this task chiefly at Venice, where I had the advantage of consulting the Ducal library, and was seduced by the attractions of the inquiry, and, if I may say so much, by my love for it, into a commentary too bulky for an appendix to the Poem. The consequence was the division of the notes into two parts, one of which was appended to the canto in the form of notes, the other appeared in a separate volume of 'Historical Illustrations.' I mentioned this in the Preface to that volume, and I repeat it now to another generation, to account for venturing to write about Italy at all.

I have been given to understand that both the Notes

and the Illustrations have been received favourably by those qualified to form a judgment on such subjects; and having been enabled, by subsequent visits to Italy and some researches at home, to make amendments and explanatory comments on them, I have added much new matter, which, I hope, may contribute, in some degree, to their general interest, and make them more useful to the traveller.

I am aware that this new portion of my volumes requires most excuse, but that excuse will, I hope, suggest itself to the reader; for, if it does not, nothing that the writer might say would be of any avail.

London, January, 1859.

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ITALY.

REMARKS MADE IN SEVERAL VISITS FROM THE YEAR 1816 TO 1854.

CHAPTER I.

Switzerland — Chamouni — Byron — Shelley — Madame de Staël — Schlegel — Bonstetten, his account of Voltaire — Departure for Italy — La Ripaille — General Duppa — Meillerie — Lago Maggiore — Isola Bella.

In the summer of 1816 I visited Switzerland for the first time, and remained there until early in the following October. I passed those happy days with Lord Byron, chiefly at the villa Diodati, on the Savoy side of the lake of Geneva, but, occasionally, in short journeys to some of the spots usually visited by strangers. One was to Chamouni, another to the Grindelwald. Of the latter Lord Byron recorded short notices in a journal which he sent to his sister, and which Mr. Moore published in his Life. It was on our visit to Chamouni that a circumstance occurred which has been so entirely distorted, and represented directly contrary to the fact, that I feel bound to mention it. At an inn on the road the travellers' book was put before us, and Lord Byron, having written his name, pointed out to me the name of Mr.

Shelley, with the words atheist and philanthropist written in Greek opposite to it; and observing "Do you not think I shall do Shelley a service by scratching this out?" he defaced the words with great care. This was the fact—the fiction afterwards printed and published was, that Lord Byron wrote the word "atheist" after his own name in that book; and Mr. Southey, although he does not repeat that absurd story, nevertheless endeavours to make Lord Byron answerable for Mr. Shelley's inscription.

During my residence at Diodati I had the satisfaction of renewing my acquaintance with Madame de Staël, and seeing her where she was best seen—at home. I have elsewhere (in page 271 of this volume) attempted to show her in the light in which she appeared at Coppet. There, indeed, she gave full play to a disposition most engaging and unaffected. In the artificial existence of Paris and London some foibles were forced into life which were dormant in her native Switzerland. In the society of cities she was not always satisfied with waiting for the approaches of the "little people called the great," but was impatient and rather too persevering in her advances. Not so at Coppet—there she was impartially attentive to all, or, if her civilities were directed to one more than to another, they were pointed to the guest whose inferior pretensions made them the more acceptable to him. In the exercise of her polite hospitalities, she forgot former injuries; and one of the company whom we met at her

table was the wife of a French marshal, who, in the days of Napoleon, would not willingly be seen in the same room with Madame de Staël. In contrast, somewhat, with this behaviour, was her reception of another guest, a serene highness, to whom she was sufficiently polite, as others thought, but not submissive enough to suit the taste and habits of a German friend, who thus reproved her indifference: "Ne connoissez-vous pas, madame," said he, "que c'est un Prince de Mecklenburgh Schwerin?" Those who remember the most learned and very eccentric person who gave her this admonition will admit that Mr. Schlegel afforded her many opportunities for the exercise of her social qualities. With him she was engaged in a perpetual controversy, playful and good-humoured on her side, but conducted by him in terms which gave very little grace to opinions in themselves far from popular. According to him, Canova knew nothing of sculpture, and had no merit of any kind as an artist. "Have you seen his group of Filial Piety?" asked Lodovico di Breme. "Have you seen my bust by Tieck?" was the reply. He contended that the Italian was a dialect of the German language; and, on another occasion, having asserted that Locke was unsatisfactory because he did not account for the phenomena of the human mind, and a person present having remarked "that Locke had accounted for the phenomena as well as human reason would allow," Mr. Schlegel exclaimed, "La raison! je me moque de la raison." Yet, in spite of these extrava-

gances, Mr. Schlegel was long a much-cherished guest at Coppet; and Madame de Staël, who respected his vast erudition, had too much good sense and good feeling, whilst availing herself of the learning of the scholar, to sport with the infirmities of the friend.

At Coppet we saw Mr. de Bonstetten, famous for his friendships with remarkable men, and valuable on his own account. The associate of Gray, and Müller, and Voltaire, had much to tell, and told it with the vivacity of youth rather than the garrulity of old age. One evening, returning with us from Coppet to Genthod, he gave us a short account of his first introduction to Gray. They met by accident at a London assembly, and after a good deal of conversation the poet said to him, "I see you can do better than be a man of fashion—come to Cambridge;" an invitation which Bonstetten accepted, and accompanied his new friend the next day to the University. In answer to a question from Lord Byron, Bonstetten told us that Gray was not esteemed as a poet so much at that time as afterwards, but was treated with much personal deference. He had the "esprit gai" and the "humeur triste,"—a lively wit, but a melancholy turn of mind. He used to talk of his intended lectures on history; but when asked why he did not do something more than he had done, he answered only with a sigh.

Mr. Bonstetten confirmed to us all the usual accounts of Voltaire. He was unlike any other human being: what he said, on whatever subject, important or trivial,

was quite in his own way, and yet without the offensive singularity of a professed humourist. The whole country, that is, the country on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, was in a tremor of anxiety at every movement of his pen; and his theatre contributed not a little to the uneasiness of his very sensitive neighbours, for he occasionally amused himself with interpolating Molière with allusions to existing follies. He was, so at least said our informant, habitually kind and considerate in his intercourse with his dependants. The person who had been his secretary for twenty years declared that in all that time Voltaire had never used a harsh word to him, and never required duties more than ordinary without expressions of apology and regret. Bonstetten denied positively the truth of the story which originated with one of Voltaire's medical attendants, namely, that he died a death of terror and despair; and he added, that the physician himself confessed the pious imposture —and, what is more strange, excused it. Nothing is more injudicious, nothing more prejudicial to the cause of religion itself, than such inventions. The detection of the falsehood is almost inevitable; but, even supposing the story to be uncontradicted, to what does it amount? These terrors may assail the most pious and best conducted of Christians; indeed, a truly religious man, not trusting to his own merits, would be much more exposed to the horrors of the hour of death than the most confirmed unbeliever. But in most cases, as in this, we may safely conclude with the charitable curate of St.

Sulpice, who witnessed the last moments of this wonderful person, that no importance ought to be attached to the words of the dying man—"Vous voyez bien qu'il n'a plus sa tête."

The day before we left Switzerland I met Madame de Staël in Geneva. Taking leave, she said, "God bless you! stay for me in Italy," alluding to a fanciful project of joining us on the other side of the Alps; and on the same evening I had a note from her concluding with these words: "I shall never forget the two friends."

When I revisited Geneva in 1828 I passed by Coppet, and paused a short time to gaze on the vine-covered slopes under the villa Diodati. I could discover the little pathway down which I had many a time rambled to the cove where Lord Byron's boat was anchored. The well-known scenes on either side of the lake were indeed as magnificent and lovely as ever—"but all the guests departed." It is seldom that death in so few years has dealt so many blows in a circle where old age was scarcely to be seen. Of the inmates and habitual visitors at Diodati, Lord Byron, Mr. Shelley, Mr. Lewis, Dr. Polidori were gone. Of those I saw at Coppet, Madame de Staël herself, her son, her friend Rocca, Mr. de Bonstetten, and Schlegel, all had passed away. I am speaking of the year 1828, but when I last saw the same scenes, in 1842, many other names might be added to the list.

We left the neighbourhood of Geneva for Italy on the 5th of October, 1816. From Thonon we went to La

Ripaille, where we saw one of the living wrecks of the Revolution. The old inhabitants of this celebrated retreat, the monks, were expelled by the French, and the extensive but ruined mansion, having been thrice sold, was at last tenanted by General Duppa. The general was present when we entered the premises—a fine, tall, pleasing-looking person, dressed like a farmer. His wife was killing fowls in the courtyard. "Formerly," said the general, "I commanded divisions; now I command nobody but my wife; I have no steward, and am my own servant." He added that he had lost 75,000 livres of annual income by French politics, and was now on the point of losing 4000 more because he did not choose to be naturalized in France. He informed us that he had served under Louis XVI., but said nothing of his other commander-in-chief, Napoleon. An Englishman who should be equally communicative with one whom he had never seen before, and was never likely to see again, would be thought mad.

At La Ripaille the church was turned into a barn, the towers, all but two, were razed, and a garden had been planted on the embanked buttresses. Over the front gate were still seen the arms of the Prince of Savoy, surmounted by that papal crown which he resigned for this sensual seclusion. The French, by an easy conversion, had made the tiara look like a cap of liberty.

Passing the rocks of Meillerie, we could not help remarking that the bowers of Clarens are not visible from that spot, but that the view of them which

charmed St. Preux must have been taken nearer to St. Gingough, where the precipices are higher and more immediately overhanging the lake — but Meillerie sounded well, and was preferred. The noble road which has been cut through the rocks has discontented some of the lovers of Rousseau, as having spoilt all the tender recollections connected with this region of romance. This objection was made in our hearing at Coppet, when a gentleman present, an old soldier, remarked "that the road was well worth the recollections." Lord Byron, in a note to the third canto of Childe Harold, has mentioned this, but made the remark somewhat stronger by changing the "vaut bien" into "vaut mieux."

We crossed the Simplon and stayed a day on the banks of the Lago Maggiore, to visit the Borromean islands. On the Isola Bella we were shown the large laurel-tree on which Napoleon cut the word "BATTAGLIA" a day or two before the battle of Marengo. This sort of record has one advantage over other memorials, that the incision may be deepened repeatedly, and the tradition easily kept alive without injury to the original. One of the first objects pointed out to me when I went to Westminster School were the letters "J. Dryden," rudely cut or scratched in the bench of the lower-fifth form, and no one doubted that the first traces of the name had been made by the hand of the great poet himself.

CHAPTER II.

Milan — Society of 1816 — De Breme — Silvio Pellico — Bosieri — De Tracy — Confalonieri — Count Luigi Porro — Anelli — Count Strasoldo — Austrian Government — The French kingdom of Italy — First appearance of Napoleon at Milan — Madame Castiglione — Prince Eugene — The Secret Society — The Allies enter Italy — Promises of independence — Revolution at Milan — Murder of Prina — Provisional Government — Austrians recover Milan and all Lombardy — Attempt at insurrection in 1820-21.

WE arrived in Milan on the 12th of October, 1816, and left it on the 3rd of November. Those with whom we chiefly associated during the time were the Abate Monsignore Lodovico Gattinara de Breme, and his brother the Marquis, the head of that distinguished Piedmontese family; the celebrated Monti; Silvio Pellico, the author of 'Francesca da Rimini,' afterwards so well known by the painful narrative of his sufferings in the dungeons of Spielberg. There also we saw Count Perticari, an author of some repute, and Bosieri, the conductor of a literary journal called 'The Day.' These gentlemen—even Monti, of whom it may now safely be told, for "nothing can touch him further,"—were all of one way of thinking in politics; but we also saw something of the inmates and frequenters of the Casa Castiglione, such as Acerbi, conductor of the

Biblioteca Italiana, Anelli, and others whose opinions took their complexion from the recently-restored masters of Lombardy.

I passed through Milan in 1822. All my friends of the Liberal party had disappeared. Where is De Breme? "He is happy in having died; he has seen none of these things," was the reply. And Silvio Pellico? "In an Hungarian dungeon." Bosieri too? "In prison." De Tracy?: "Also in confinement." Confalonieri? "Reprieved on the scaffold; but whether dead or in prison now, no one knows." Count Luigi Porro? "In exile." He had been executed in effigy a few days before my arrival. Such were the bitter fruits of that unhappy attempt to shake off the Austrian yoke in 1821. Shortly after the failure of this conspiracy it was known that the Heads of Departments were prepared to retire from Milan, with the treasure and the archives, had the Piedmontese advanced into Lombardy with the expected force. The fate of Italy was then in the hands of the Prince of Carignan, the unfortunate Charles Albert of later days. It should be told, however, that neither Count Strasoldo nor Count Bubna, the civil and military governors of Milan, were accused of remembering their dangers with the rancour which such recollections usually inspire; indeed their administration generally could not be called tyrannical or unjust. The severe punishment of insurrection, or political conspiracy, is an inevitable condition of foreign subjection; but the ordinary tribunals

were impartial and just. The interference of the priesthood in civil and social matters was much checked; several church ceremonies, the encouragement of idleness or vice, had been suppressed; the employment of many labourers and artizans in public works, and the cheapness of provisions, which enabled the labour of three days to provide food for a week, had satisfied those classes to whom such advantages are the test of good government. The discontented belonged to another portion of the community, who were aggrieved by the employment of Germans in all the higher, and many of the inferior departments of administration. The head of the Milanese Church was acknowledged to be a liberal and a highly honourable man, but he was disagreeable to the nobility as a foreigner. The same dislike, and no little ridicule, attached to the Austrian principal of the university of Padua; and what made this preference of foreigners still more distasteful was, that, although the higher classes were excluded from employment at home, they were almost prohibited from seeking amusement or instruction abroad. Foreign travel was discouraged as much as possible, and, when a licence for that purpose was obtained, the term of absence was specified, and a positive promise exacted that the traveller would not hold intercourse with the diplomatic members of any court that he might frequent.

But even those Italians who were in public employment of an inferior grade partook in some degree of

the discontent of the upper classes. Their salaries were extremely small; a police agent, a custom-house officer, an attendant on the Court, had no more than a franc a day—hence not only their discontent, but their importunity with strangers. But it should not be forgotten that the pay of clerks in the public offices, of higher mechanics, such as engineers and superintendents in manufactories, was proportionably small. Three Austrian livres, about two shillings a-day, were considered good wages—four were never given; yet on that pittance this class of Milanese citizens contrive to frequent the restaurateurs and the theatres—it is true their wives lived at home on soup. Except in England, there is no city in Europe where so many well-dressed cleanly-looking people are to be seen as in Milan. In some subsequent visits I found very little if any change in the appearance or manners of the inhabitants. The glories of the Corso, the two-miled string of carriages, had survived, in 1845, the ruin of all their governments; the Scala opera-house was equally flourishing. The Milanese patrician, so early as in 1828, had forgotten, or seemed to have forgotten, the storms of 1821, and was much as I saw him at my first visit in 1816. The individuals were gone, but the fashions remained, somewhat, indeed, modified by English literature and English habits. There were four teachers of the English language in 1828. The booksellers' shops abounded with English works, both ancient and modern, both original and translated, some of them such as bigotry and despotism

could hardly be expected to tolerate: for example, Locke and Gibbon: Sir Walter Scott had long been a favourite; Moore had general admittance since 1822; Lord Byron was prohibited, but in 1826 his 'Corsair' was acted every night at the Scala. At that period the Anglo-American method of speedy and elegant writing was recommended in placards on every wall, and the cavaliers of the Corso, with English horses and English saddles, studiously imitated the English seat and the English pace: but even two years before, viz. in 1826, Count Strasoldo, in a state proclamation denouncing the black slave-trade, laid it down as an axiom in political morals, that "man instinctively feels he is his own property," a manifest copy from the Abbé Gregoire and Mr. Wilberforce, and, I should think, a very controvertible proposition, especially in the meridian of Milan.

THE FRENCH KINGDOM OF ITALY.

During the days of the two short-lived republics, the higher classes of Lombardy showed very little sympathy with Frenchmen and French principles, and very few indeed were persuaded to partake of the fortunes of Napoleon at his first conquest of Italy. I heard an account of his proceedings at Milan from an eye-witness. One of his harangues was delivered from a balcony opposite to the Casa Castiglione, where my informant stood at the time and heard him. He told

the Milanese youth that "he would make something of them—he would make them soldiers—and would lead them, in six months, as conquerors to the Tower of London." A member of that noble family heard him, and joined his banner; he was drowned. Madame Castiglione then foretold, from his deportment towards his officers and those about him, that he was only at the outset of his career: "This man," said she, "will not be content with being a general." After the complete subjection of Italy, and the consolidation of his power, Napoleon, though never popular with the Milanese patricians, worked, to some extent, a favourable change in their character. The extreme activity of his government partially communicated itself to those whose long-cherished hereditary vice was laziness; and some of them condescended to become influential in the state, and useful in society. Many of the great nobles did still keep aloof from the new viceregal court, but some of the best and most active of the administration were of the highest class. Melzi, Duke of Lodi, was an able and an honest minister, and a vigilant superintendence was maintained over all the public departments. No less than a hundred clerks and others were employed in the Ministry of the Interior; four hundred were attached to the War Department — these were all Italians; the Senate, the Council of State, the Metropolitan and Provincial Prefectures, all opened a career to the native community; and I was informed that, in Milan alone, there were eighteen hundred persons in

government pay: the army also, to a great degree, was national. This could not fail of producing a salutary influence with those who, for the first time, discovered that activity was profitable. The inevitable consequence ensued—men of considerable capacity appeared in every branch of administration, and a general spirit of emulation and enterprise was diffused amongst the northern Italians.

PRINCE EUGENE had been liked, but his popularity did not survive the campaign of Moscow, and his subsequent behaviour was unworthy of his former character. During the early part of his viceroyalty he had been much esteemed for a quality seldom found in men of high station and moderate capacity—he listened to good advice, and was thus enabled to extricate himself from many difficulties. His conduct towards the Pope, for example, showed how capable he was of reconciling the interests of Napoleon with the temper of those whom he was called upon to control. He seems, however, to have been directed no longer by the same good sense or the same wise counsellors, when, during the retreat from Russia, he studiously neglected his Italian generals, and thereby forfeited the attachment of those on whom he was chiefly to depend in the approaching struggle. Other causes are assigned for his decreasing popularity. Guicciardi mentions the inspection of the post-office correspondence, and Botta reckons the employment of Prina and Mejean, and the vigorous activity in raising the contingent for the cam-

paign of 1813, as injurious to Eugene. But he was himself, as will be hereafter seen, the chief cause of his own downfall. He was guilty of something worse than precipitancy during his last unhappy days at Mantua, when he seized the crown from selfishness, and surrendered it from spite.

THE SECRET SOCIETY.

It is now well known, and no danger can result from the promulgation of the fact, that for some time previous to the downfall of Napoleon a widely-extended conspiracy had been formed in his Italian provinces, having for its object the long-desired, unattainable independence of the Italian peninsula. The secret, if so it may be called, was in the breasts of no less than four thousand individuals, calling themselves Freemasons, and communicating by the masonic signs in use, not in France, but in England. These persons, although for ordinary purposes they acted with all the Freemasons of Italy, yet, for special political objects, were governed by rules and conducted by chiefs known only to themselves. Thus Prince Eugene was grand-master of Lombardy, but the private grand-master was the real head of the brotherhood, and of the project of which it was intended the viceroy should be the last to hear, and which was scrupulously concealed from every one supposed to be connected with French interests. When Murat passed through Milan, after the reverses of the

campaign of 1813, he repaired to the house of a merchant, from whom he borrowed a thousand louis d'ors, to enable him to return to his capital with the equipage, at least, of a sovereign, and he then confided to the lender of the money his scheme of speedily assembling an army of 80,000 men, marching northwards, raising the patriots of every province, and declaring the independence of Italy. The merchant was a Freemason, and communicated the project of Murat to the Great Lodge; the consequence was that the whole secret, just at the time that concealment was most necessary, was betrayed by —— to the friends of the Viceroy. From that moment discord arose between Murat and Eugene and their respective partizans, which put an end to all chance of co-operation between the Neapolitans and Lombards, and was, most probably, the real cause of the unfortunate policy adopted by the Viceroy at Mantua. The battle of Hanau afforded the Italians the last opportunity of displaying their military genius beyond the Alps; and when General Zucchi, who commanded their contingent of the French army, returned to Milan, he proclaimed publicly that he was authorized to announce that Napoleon resigned the iron crown, released his Italian subjects and soldiers from their oaths, and left the whole of their armed force to work out the independence of their common country. This certainly was, if any, the time to secure that glorious object. Eugene and his council deliberated on a declaration proclaiming the union of all the states of Upper Italy, with Eugene

for their constitutional monarch, and France for a permanent ally. The decree was written, and preparations made for sending it to all the provincial prefects; but the prince hesitated, and the decree was cancelled. He was unwilling to convoke the electoral or representative bodies, fearful lest his influence, declining daily with the disasters of his imperial step-father, should prove too weak to place the crown on his own head. The patriot Freemasons also were inactive, partly because they were aware of divisions amongst themselves, and partly because they depended on the assistance of England to secure their liberties at a general peace. Some of the bolder malcontents, amongst them Pino, opened communication with Murat, who was advancing through the Roman states with designs unknown to others, and probably not determined upon by himself. The war came at last into Italy, and, according to approved precedents, the Austrians advanced with the assurance that they came to liberate the Lombards from a foreign yoke, and had no desire to regain their ancient Cisalpine possessions. An English general officer was charged to pledge the imperial word of Francis the First to that effect. In fact, the independence of Italy had been one of the conditions proposed to Napoleon at Dresden in 1813. Not one of all the champions contending for the honour of imposing a master on this unhappy country omitted the usual ceremony of promising better days of freedom and happiness. The Austrian general, Nugent, and his English partizans disembarked at the mouth of

the Po and overran Romagna, and before they were repulsed by the French general, Grenier, near Parma, had time to proclaim themselves "disinterested liberators." Prince Eugene, in his proclamation of the 4th of February (1814), from Verona, declared that Murat had for the three past months promised to march to his aid. But Murat was now the ally of Austria; and advancing towards Lombardy, proclaimed, by the mouth of his general, Carascosa, the independence of Italy. The English, Sicilians, Calabrians, and Greeks, who landed at Leghorn under the command of Lord William Bentinck, assumed the same generous character of liberators and friends, allies in the same pious enterprise—the final emancipation of all Italy from a foreign yoke. It must seem to us, who have seen the event, very strange that the most credulous of the patriot Italians should have indulged in any hopes not derived from the acknowledged prowess of their own Italian army; nor would they, perhaps, if Eugene had adopted a decided course, and raised the national banner. This, however, he did not do; he preferred, for the time, constancy to his great benefactor; and in his declaration of the 4th of February, 1814, from Verona, "FIDELITY," not "LIBERTY," was declared to be the watchword of all true Italians.

When Eugene opened the campaign against the so-called liberators of Italy, he was at the head of 60,000 men, of whom somewhat more than a third were Italians. Several bloody, though it appears fruitless,

battles were fought, and the honour of the Italian army was upheld; but a retreat behind the Mincio was inevitable, and ought to have been adopted whilst the last native defenders of the soil were undiminished and unbroken. The Austrian general did not choose to act at once offensively, being uncertain what conduct Murat might adopt; and when the Viceroy, after the action at Vallegio, had taken up his position at Mantua, and the news of Napoleon's abdication had arrived, he readily listened to the proposal for a suspension of arms, and agreed not to cross the Mincio until an answer should be returned on the part of the deputies who were sent to the allied sovereigns at Paris. The agreement, signed at Schiavino Pizzino on the 16th of April (1814), between Eugene and Count Bellegarde, provided for the departure of the French part of the army, the cession of several fortresses, including Venice, and, as if in mockery, also for *the renewal of hostilities*, after due notice given. The day after the suspension of arms, Melzi, Duke of Lodi, then suffering from an attack of gout at his villa, convened, in his capacity of president, an extraordinary meeting of the senate, and addressed a message to them, avowing the real state of the kingdom, concluding with a proposal that the deputies should demand at Paris a final cessation of hostilities, the independence of Italy, and the crown of the new kingdom for Prince Eugene. The senate deliberated on the message, first in a committee of seven members, and afterwards in the whole house. The deputies named at

Mantua were Generals Bertoletti and Fontanelli for the army, and Counts Paradisi and Prina for the nation generally. The senate approved the two first of the demands of Melzi, but, after some warm discussions, they evaded the last, viz. the choice of Eugene; and, instead of the deputies before named, they appointed Count Louis Castiglione, of Milan, and Count Guicciardi,* to represent the wishes of the Senate and People of Italy.

At this time opinions were much divided at Milan—Paradisi, Oriani, Prina, Mejean, Darnay took the part of Eugene; others proposed a return to the Austrian rule; the third and strongest party contended for independence, with an Austrian, or any monarch, except Eugene. The above-mentioned deputies proceeded at once (18th April) to Mantua, and had an audience of Eugene, to whom they delivered a despatch from the Duke of Lodi, containing the decree of the senate. They were unjustly blamed at the time for not taking the road to Paris at once, and for going to Mantua; but it was indispensable so to do, in order to procure passports from the Austrian general, Bellegarde. The visit to Mantua, however, gave colour to a rumour that the Duke of Lodi and the deputies were playing a part for Eugene; and in the blindness of the moment it was believed that not only the Duke of Lodi had falsified the decree of the senate

* The same, before alluded to, who published a short account of these transactions.

in his despatch to Eugene, but that the senate had entered into his views in favour of Eugene. The truth was, that Count Guicciardi, chancellor of the senate, and one of the deputies, had, in the secret sitting of that body on the 17th of April, strenuously opposed the selection of the Viceroy; but the rumour did its work before the truth was known, and paralysed all the proceedings of the senate, who were henceforth regarded as partizans of the French interest and opposed to the national cause. The consequence was a temporary union between the patrician Milanese and the patriot Freemasons. Aware of the weakness of the government —for the regular troops at Milan amounted only to 400 men, commanded by an officer not to be trusted—the united parties, joined by the civic guard, resolved upon measures amounting in fact to an overthrow of the existing authorities. A paper was put forth, with 141 signatures, of which the first names all belonged to the highest of the nobles—Count Pino, Luigi Porro, Giacomo Trivulzio, Federigo Confalonieri, and Ghiberto Borromeo. This paper, demanding the convocation of the electoral colleges, was sent to the senate on the 19th of April by Count Darini, the podesta of Milan; but the measure was not considered sufficiently decisive, and preparations were made for the fatal event of the ensuing day—the Revolution of the 20th of April, 1814. Early at the meeting of the senate on that day, Marini, adjutant of the civic guard, demanded that the senate should dismiss the regular troop that guarded their

palace and accept a patrol from his own body of armed citizens. This was complied with; the troops of the line were withdrawn, and from that moment the free deliberations of the assembly were at an end. The tumult in front of the palace became alarming; many of the higher nobility, and amongst them several ladies, shouting "Patria e Independenza, non Eugenio, non Vicerè, non Francesi!" were discovered amongst the crowd; and although the historian of this shameful day ascribes good motives to the patrician rioters and the motley multitude, the accounts I heard from some of the parties concerned were anything but creditable to the insurgents, headed though they were by the unfortunate Confalonieri and the virtuous Alberto Litta. A voice was heard from the crowd, demanding in a furious tone the convocation of the electoral colleges and the recall of the deputation to Mantua. The adjutant, Marini, alarmed for the consequences of the tumult of which he had himself been the first promoter, implored the individual thus clamorous not to inflame the multitude, but to present himself to the assembly and address them peaceably. He implored in vain; the people burst into the outer court of the senate-house, and had already mounted the steps of the hall, when Count Verri, accompanied by the senators Massori and Falici, attempted to address them, but after several fruitless efforts, and returning more than once to his colleagues, he was presented with a paper opening with these words: "Hanno la Spagna e l'Alemagna gittato via dal collo il giojo dei

Francesi; halle l'Italia ad imitare." Verri did not read the paper, but carried it forthwith to his colleagues in the hall, who, however, had not time to recite the whole of this address, for they were interrupted by the entrance of some officers of the civic guard (Pietro Ballabio, a colonel, and Benigno Bossi, a captain, were principal actors in this unhappy scene), who seemed scarcely less alarmed than the senators themselves, and remained pale and agitated for a short time, without speaking a word. At last Bossi recovered himself, and renewed the demand, in a loud voice, for the convocation of the electoral colleges and the recall of the deputies from Mantua. The president of the senate put two decrees to that effect to the senate; they were carried, signed, and taken out of the hall by Bossi, who shortly returned, demanding in the name of the people that the Senate should declare their deliberations had been free. This also was decreed, and thirty copies of these decrees, having been made by the civic guard, were distributed amongst the crowd. The senators now dispersed themselves in all directions, amidst shouts of laughter from the people, who had forced their way into the hall and instantly began the work of demolition. Furniture was dashed to pieces, decorations torn down, the records of the assembly were thrown into the canal. The signal for these exploits was given by a nobleman, who thrust his umbrella through the portrait of Napoleon by Appiani. Count Frederic Confalonieri was said to be the man, but he indignantly refuted the

charge; and, in fact, the real hero was a Castiglione. It was not likely that the madness should end with the destruction of a picture. Whilst the rage was at its height, some one called out Melzi, Melzi! but a friend of that minister called out Prina—so says Botta, but I did not hear that story in 1816. What I did hear was, that the people rushed to the house of Prina; entered in a body, in spite of the gallant resistance of one friend, a general officer, the Baron de Regen, seized him, half stripped him, and threw him from a window. He was able to walk, and after traversing a street where the sentinels at a public office witnessed his distress and helped him not, he took refuge in the house of a wine-merchant near the Scala Theatre. The people discovered his retreat, and threatened to burn the house. Prina came forth, presented himself to them, and exclaimed, "Sfogatevi pure sopra di me poichè sono già immolato alla vostra rabbia, ma fate almeno che sia l'ultima questa vittima." These were his last words: the people seized him and beat him to death with their umbrellas. It was supposed that he retained some life for nearly four hours; not a single mortal wound was found upon his body, which was dragged about by the savage populace by torchlight until ten o'clock at night, and was so much disfigured that no one could be found to identify the corpse. Botta* spares his readers the details of this tragedy; I believe they were such as above described.

Storia d'Italia, lib. xxvii., vol. iv. p. 498.

Prina was a man of great talents, fertile in resources, undaunted by difficulties, intrepid in action, superior to his station, and above his fortune in all the circumstances of his career; but he was a great dissembler, a masker of his passions, cold, unfeeling, inexorable, a heart of stone—bent only upon the accomplishment of his immediate object, without scruples, without pity. He had been minister, first to the King of Sardinia, then to the Cisalpine Republic. His next master was Napoleon, and to that mighty prince he dedicated all his genius. His financial schemes were easily devised, and he generally raised a revenue larger than his own estimate or the expectations of Napoleon himself; but only the state was a gainer, for he died a poor man. Secure of the support of his sovereign, he disregarded the opinions of the Viceroy and the decisions of his council whenever they were opposed to his own convictions. Such a man might have been the powerful instrument of a tyranny more severe than that of Napoleon, and was qualified for employments far more important than the administration of the Lombard treasury; but it was easy to foresee that the downfall of Napoleon would leave him without a friend. A warning voice did exhort him to provide for his safety the evening before his death,* but he had been too long used to the mastery of the Milanese to regard them with alarm; and when his hour was come, he met his assas-

* This fact is mentioned in the Abate di Breme's pamphlet, afterwards cited.

sins with the countenance of a man accustomed to command. His dying request was heard. It was said that Mejean and Darnay were sought for, but they were not found, and he was the only victim.*

But the populace committed great excesses (on the 21st of April), and from daybreak until night the city was a prey to every alarm. The shops were mostly shut; the streets were crowded with persons of the most menacing appearance. The public offices and some private houses were marked for destruction; a general pillage was expected. The few regular soldiers composing the garrison had disappeared; even the Custom-house officers had left the gates of the city. The civic guard, who had partaken of, or at least permitted, the first outrages against the senate, seemed disinclined to act; and it was now seen that the most active of the rioters were men of an uncouth and savage mien, evidently not natives of the capital. These ruffians ran wildly through the streets, brandishing scythes and

* Count Mejean had been sent by Prince Eugene to Milan to sound the senators and principal official personages in favour of his pretensions to the crown. He was also the instrument employed to get together the provincial partisans of the Viceroy, called the Estensi, composed of natives of Bologna, Ravenna, Modena, and Reggio, fellow-subjects, but not friends nor favourites with the Milanese. Darnay was Director of the Posts. Both Mejean and Darnay had seconded the efforts of Paradisi and Oriani in the discussions in the senate, of which Botta gives a short summary, whether imaginary or not I cannot say; but they are probable enough, and the arguments are such as might have been fairly used.—See *Storia d' Italia*, lib. xxvii. 1814.

reaping-hooks, and ropes in nooses. The terrified municipal council named a provisional regency, who issued proclamations, abolished taxes, and called on the citizens to arm. The last order was partially obeyed, but the insurgents were still masters of the town; they encountered small parties of the armed citizens, and frightened them into inactivity. Milan was saved by an accident. The insurgents met a small body of the patrol and ordered them to unfix their bayonets as their comrades had done; one of the patrol happened to be armed with a rusty musket, and was not able to take off his bayonet. The populace became impatient, and, exclaiming "Down with the bayonets," began to fling stones; the patrol, to save their own lives, charged the multitude, who fled in every direction, and never reassembled afterwards. The arrival of a few cavalry soldiers restored tranquillity, and enabled the city merchants and municipal council to provide against future tumults by organizing a civic guard for the protection of the regency. The members of that council were Pino, Carlo Verri, Giacomo Mellerio, Gliiberto Borromeo, Alberto Litta, Georgio Guilini, and Buzetta. Pino was declared commander-in-chief, and issued a proclamation accordingly. The electoral colleges were convoked, to meet the ensuing day.

The colleges did meet (on the 22nd of April), but not in sufficient number to give assurance of national support, or even to transact business. By the constitution one-third of the members was required for

any enactment, but only 70 out of 1153 electors appeared in their places: and yet this fragment of the electoral body assumed to itself sovereign power, overthrew all previous authorities by a simple decree, framed a new constitution, and resolved to demand of the allied sovereigns at Paris much the same boon as the deputies of the senate and the army had been previously instructed to request, except that, in stipulating for a monarch "whose origin and qualities might make them forget the evils of their former government," they seemed to exclude Eugene from the throne. The deputation appointed to proceed to Paris consisted of Marc-Antonio Fè, Frederick Confalonieri, Giacomo Ciani, Alberto Litta, Giacomo Trivulzi, Pietro Ballabio, with Giacomo Beccaria for secretary. Botta includes Sommi of Crema, and omits Trivulzi. Individuals better known, names more illustrious, it would have been difficult to select. The deputies set out for France forthwith, but they might have spared themselves their haste. The real hopes of Italy, and all chances of independence, were centered in Mantua. There it was that her destinies were to be determined; and, unfortunately, although the transactions at Milan were powerless of any good, they produced the worst results when the news of them reached the Viceroy and the army at Mantua. The Counts Guicciardi and Castiglione, the first-appointed deputies, returned to Milan, without any effort to overtake their colleagues, Generals Fontanelli and Bertolini, who were already on their road through

Bavaria to France. Their conduct, however, was excusable; the real error, to call it by no harsher name, was committed by Eugene. That prince, hearing of the murder of Prina, and not aware of any efforts to support his pretensions, resolved to assume the crown by an act of his own. Accordingly he published a proclamation, declaring his readiness to take upon himself the cares of sovereignty, without much attempt at reasoning or justification, and only alluding shortly to the exigencies of the times. Perhaps, of all the strange accidents of this eventful period, it is one of the most singular that a prince who had long been the heir of an imperial crown, and a viceroy over a great kingdom, and who now was a general of high repute, at the head of a formidable army in an impregnable fortress, should create an independent monarchy, and place the crown of it on his own head; and that an act of such vast significance should not only be productive of no results, but should drop, as it were, still-born, so that the very fact may be said to have been almost unknown. Count Guicciardi does not mention it in his narrative, nor Botta in his history. But the proclamation was issued: I was assured of that fact at Mantua in 1816. No notice was taken of it, except that murmurs were heard amongst the superior officers. It was never cancelled, nor contradicted, nor acted upon; indeed the paper on which it was printed could hardly have been dry when Eugene himself signed, with Field-Marshal Bellegarde, the convention of the 23rd of April, by which he lost his

crown, his army, and his honour. What he secured was a retreat in Germany, and his military treasure. But even these were not easily saved from the wreck of his fortunes and of his character; for no sooner was the capitulation known, than the officers of the garrison broke out almost into open mutiny. They scrupled not to accuse the prince of treachery; they declared his whole conduct to have been the result of a deep-laid scheme for his own aggrandisement; and they called to mind the words of Grenier, the commander of the French forces, who, when leaving Mantua with his army, is reported to have said to the prince, "*You want to be king of Italy—you will be nothing.*" The dismissal of that French army was charged against him as one of the sacrifices by which he hoped to propitiate the triumphant allies. His frequent communications with Bellegarde were also remembered. His abortive proclamation, and his surrender of Mantua, left him without party, and without support of any kind, "deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat." Such was the indignation of the garrison, that General Palombini proposed to arrest him. It was too late; he had left Mantua, and his treasure was conveyed through a gate guarded by an officer whom the public voice accused of having accepted a large bribe for suffering it to pass.

It cannot be denied that great abilities, or undoubted probity, perhaps a union of both, were requisite to extricate Eugene from the difficulties of his position. It is equally certain that the friends of independence at

Milan were deplorably ignorant of their own interests, when, instead of joining with the prince and the army, they chose to act in opposition to them, and added to the general embarrassment. This, however, is no excuse for the prince. Botta hands him over to the perpetual scorn of posterity for his surrender of Mantua: "Atto veramente biasimevole del quale perpetuamente la posterità accusera Eugenio;" and Guicciardi, somewhat his apologist, drily remarks that he left the re-establishment of order to the troops of his Apostolic Majesty.*

Mantua being given to the Austrians, the Italian army was broken up, and General Sommariva, arriving at Milan on the 25th of April, put himself at the head of the regency as commissary for the high allies. Some faint hopes, however, were still entertained from the efforts of the deputies at Paris. The Electoral Colleges continued their sittings, and even on the day of Sommariva's arrival passed some decrees which his excellency condescended to overlook. The Civic Guard protected the capital. "Independence or Death" was still the pass-word of the citizens; and the official journal, describing the entrance of the Austrian troops into Milan on the 28th of April, announced that they "were received with the noble reserve becoming a nation whose first wish was Independence."

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* A futile attempt has recently been made to relieve Prince Eugene from this stigma by a legal process in Paris (1858).

It was soon known that the deputies at Paris had not to complain of the misery of suspense. At their first interview with the representative of that power to which principally they looked for deliverance, Lord Castlereagh told them to address themselves to their master, the Emperor of Austria. His Imperial Majesty's answer was explicit enough, although somewhat ironical: "Rispose, anche lui essere Italiano; i suoi soldati avere conquistato la Lombardia: udirebbero a Milano quanto loro avesse a commandare;" * and Humboldt told them the painful truth, that they "should have brought their twenty-five thousand soldiers to negotiate for them."

Nevertheless the Electoral Colleges continued to legislate for the forthcoming king and kingdom of Italy. Their last sitting was on the 2nd of May, when "their patriotism did not forget to limit the manorial rights of the royal villa of Monza:" so says Guicciardi with bitter irony. Some of their body were deputed to Marshal Bellegarde, a few days afterwards (on the 10th of May), still to pray for political existence. The Regency also gave signs of life. They made some military promotions, for an army now disbanded; amongst them, Ugo Foscolo was created Brigadier-General. This was not all: despair suggested a wild scheme of insurrection, which the unhappy patriots, whom no experience could disabuse, thought would be countenanced

* Botta, vol. iv. p. 499.

by the English, at that time masters of Genoa; * and these hopes and projects were entertained only a day or two previously to the 23rd of May, when Field-Marshal Bellegarde issued a proclamation, announcing that Lombardy was taken possession of for the Emperor of Austria, that the Electoral Colleges were dissolved, and that Bellegarde himself was now president of the Regency.

When Lord Byron and myself visited Milan two years after these scenes, the mistakes committed by the principal actors in them were acknowledged by all parties; but concerning the revolution or insurrection of the 20th of April, all were silent, because all were ashamed. A formal denial in a French journal attempted at the time to exempt the Milanese from all share in the follies and atrocities of that unhappy day; but if the assassins of Prina were not inhabitants of the city, they were not unknown to some of the citizens; in fact, they were peasants from the estates of some of the higher nobles, admitted during the night, and instructed what part they were to perform; and as the murder was not punished, it is but a fair conclusion that it was not thought safe to inquire as to the real instigators of the excesses which led to so unprofitable a crime.

* Surrendered to Lord William Bentinck on the 15th of April.

CHAPTER III.

De Breme — Monti — The Scala — Sgricci — Italian Improvvisatori — Perticari.

I WOULD say something more of those whom we saw at Milan in 1816, and first of the Abate de Breme, to whom we were introduced by a letter from Madame de Staël. He was one of the most amiable of men, and the high station he had held under the French (he was one of the almoners, "aumonier vicaire," of the Italian court of the kingdom of Italy) gave authority to his account of events in which he had borne a part, and which were, at the time of our visit, much more the object of curiosity than they are at this day. His father was Minister of the Interior for the Emperor Napoleon at Turin, and his family influence would have raised him to the highest dignities in the church, a profession, indeed, which at first he seems to have adopted of his own accord. He was offered a mitre three times, but refused to occupy a position not at all suitable to his taste, nor congenial with his opinions. There was, however, no laxity of principle, nor neglect of moral propriety, to influence his refusal, for he had a high character in every respect, and was so much esteemed that he was offered great promotion by the

Austrians, to whom he was known to bear no good will. His talents were considerable, and, although not much distinguished as an author, he was well read in ancient and modern literature, and had acquired a critical knowledge of his own language—a rare attainment. He had been the intimate friend of Caluso, the friend of Alfieri, and the father of his genius; Caluso died in his arms. In society he was surpassed by no man. The variety of his information, the liveliness and justice of his remarks, his grave humour, and almost imperceptible irony, gave to his conversation charms which were rendered still more attractive by kind, unaffected, noble manners. The intimacy which I had the happiness of forming with this excellent person was somewhat checked, in after times, by an unwary expression contained in my little essay on Italian literature. I called the controversy between the Romantici and the Classicisti "an idle question." Now the Abate was, both by writing and in society, an eager advocate of the former, and did not like to be told that his time and talents had been wasted in a frivolous dispute. Yet frivolous it was; for even if it admitted of any decision, it could produce no result nor influence on language or literature. The question is a question of taste; and the production of an ingenious romance, such as the Promessi Sposi, has done no more to establish the opinions of the Romantici than the appearance of a great work, written entirely on the ancient model, would decide the dispute in favour of

the opposing party. In this, as in other literary quarrels, the antagonists on both sides pushed their arguments too far. The Classicisti decried all imitation and all translation of modern authors as unworthy of a nation abounding in perfect native models; whilst, on the other hand, the Romantici had the boldness to deride the severe taste and style of many of the old, and almost all the modern Italian writers, as little better than pedantry and affectation. Of this war of words Madame de Staël had been the unintentional author, by telling the Italians, first in her essay on the Influence of Literature, and afterwards in Corinne, that there were good writers beyond the Alps whom it might be profitable to peruse, and, perhaps, no disgrace to copy. The conductors of the 'Piedmont Gazette,' and the 'Milanese Spectator,' took fire at this friendly hint, and the friends of the lady replied to them in a tone still more furious than that of the critics. It was an idle question; but pronouncing it to be such was sure to displease both parties, for it was the constant topic of conversation, and much importance was attached to it in all societies of that day.* Idle, how-

* De Breme, being much offended by an article in the *Biographie des Vivans*, by L. G. Michaud, purporting to be a Life of him, published at Genoa and Paris, in 1817, a pamphlet, called 'GRAND COMMENTAIRE SUR UN PETIT ARTICLE, par un Vivant remarquable sans le savoir.' The pamphlet gives some account of his father, of himself, and of his literary pursuits and opinions, intermixed with interesting anecdotes of the principal personages of the French kingdom of Italy, with whom he was officially and privately connected. The Abate was, perhaps, a little more angry than the occasion required; and his defence of his poetry, his prose, and his

ever, as it essentially was, it was to a stranger not altogether destitute of amusement, as the contending critics favoured us repeatedly with attacks on their opponents, not confined to the points in debate, but, as usual in such cases, embracing the whole of their literary, and something of their personal history. Mr. de Breme's opera-box, and our own room, were enlivened morning and evening by these anecdotes, which gave us, perhaps, more than a long residence under other circumstances might have done, a tolerable view of the society, and an adequate notion of the ephemeral literature of Upper Italy. It was satisfactory to find all parties agreed in one point; namely, that Monti, Pindemonte, and Foscolo were the living writers esteemed as decidedly superior to all their contemporaries. I have already told what, I believe is the judgment generally formed in Italy of the merits of these distinguished authors.* They are all dead. The last, the youngest of them, died first. He was buried at Chiswick, in the churchyard, where a tombstone tells his name and the day of his death, Sept. xiv., A.D. 1827. His age was only fifty years, seven months, and a few

literary controversies, has not much to engage the attention of readers at the present day. But the pamphlet, with its appendices, abounds with noble and generous sentiments, worthy of the character and the career of the writer; and we may well regret that he did not live to produce that History of his Own Times, which we learn by the concluding paragraph he "seriously intended" to write.

* See 'The Present State of Italian Literature,' appended to the Illustrations of the 4th canto of 'Childe Harold,' reprinted in the Appendix to these volumes.

days.* The other two died within a few months of each other in 1828.

I may now tell what it would have been unsafe to mention in the life-time of Monti—that in spite of congratulatory odes and outward compliances, that great poet did not look on any foreigners with cordial good will; and, as for the Germans, he hated them with a true Italian hatred. His literary transformations were too abrupt, his panegyrics of all his many masters too evidently insincere to be of service to them; it is surprising that they were of use to him. Yet when the Austrian Government established the Biblioteca Italiana, Monti was requested to conduct that journal. He refused, but consented to be an occasional contributor to it. The same offer was made to Foscolo, who also refused. Monti, in confidential conversation, left no room to doubt that his inclinations and opinions were those of all educated Italians. "I shall not live," said he to me, "to sing once more the liberties of Italy; no change can happen in my time; I am too old." I ventured to observe that, although he could not sing the liberties of his country, he might try what his muse could do towards restoring them. "Alas!" he replied, "it would be 'vox clamantis in deserto.' Besides," he added, "how can the grievances of Italy be made known? No one dares to write, scarcely to think, politics; if truth is to be told, it must be told by the

* See plate to Foscolo's 'Dante,' published by Rolandi in 184?.

English—England is the only tribunal yet open to the complaints of Europe." He then addressed Lord Byron in a low and earnest tone, and gave an account of the return of the Emperor Francis to his Lombard provinces. His discouraging story ended, however, with the remark that a certain portion of instruction had gone forth amongst the people, which could not be altogether lost, and would, in time, be productive of good fruit. Monti in every respect afforded a singular contrast between his writings and his real opinions. In the before-mentioned literary dispute he argued vehemently against all attempts at innovation; but his own compositions, even when dealing with the old mythology of Greece and Rome, are, in their phraseology and general tone of expression, decidedly new and modern. Homer was his god, although he did not, as he himself confessed, understand Greek; Dante was his hero; Shakspeare he thought almost equal to Dante, and, like the great German critic, chiefly admired his comedies; Milton he defended from the charge of stealing his 'Paradise Lost' from the Italians. "The artist," said he, "when he cast the first mould of the Venus de Medicis, found the clay somewhere, but that does not make him a thief." He then told us that he was charmed with the celestial cannons, and the angels flinging hills at one another: the Italians had nothing like that. The irony here was a little too apparent, and our talk broke up with a laugh.

Monti was then evidently in the decline, not only

of his life, but his mental powers, and the deference paid him was a tribute rather to his former fame than to his present superiority. "I revere him as a portrait of what he was," said De Breme, and he then repeated a part of the wonderful ode on the death of Louis XVI., exclaiming, "This would make a nation revolt." Never, perhaps, was so much genius combined with such weakness of character. The countenance of Monti was very striking: he had a high and rather curved forehead; his eyes were not dark nor large, but lively and piercing; his eyebrows were shaggy and overhanging; his nose somewhat aquiline; his mouth rather projecting, but of a most pleasing and mild expression; his features and his whole frame were above the common size. When we saw him he was a little bent; his long loose hair was not quite grey. In manners he was very pleasing and natural, and apparently sincere. Showing us a snuff-box given to him by Pius VII., he repeated Dante's verses, "Due bestie sotto una pelle." With the exception of Foscolo, whom he disliked, he seemed to encourage and speak favourably of his contemporaries, particularly of Silvio Pellico, whose 'Francesca' he allowed to be a successful essay in a new style. The part of Francesca, played by the then celebrated actress, had made an effect such as simple pathos has seldom produced; but she has been far surpassed by the Ristori of these days (1856).*

* The Abate di Breme, in the before-cited pamphlet, records the effects produced by this tragedy, p. 148.

THE SCALA THEATRE.

THE Scala theatre is the general rendezvous of Milan, and those who meet no where else meet there. The principal business of the audience certainly is not attention to the music; and murmurs, loud talking, and laughing are heard from the beginning to the end of the performance, except during one or two favourite airs, when all are still. Those who sit in the pit are the only real audience. Those who stand in the alleys come to hear the news, and arrange commercial affairs. Of the boxes the two first tiers are the most polite and the least amusing. In the third and fourth tiers are settled almost all intrigues of all kinds; in the fifth some of them are brought to a conclusion; and there also are card-tables, and gambling is going on during the whole performance. The sixth is open, like the pit. Such was the "carte scandaleuse" given to us in 1816. If a fair picture, it would appear that Milanese morals had not much mended since Parini described the amusements of the Corso.

The ballets of this theatre are thought, I believe, superior to any in Italy. The dancing tragedies are, indeed, as good as such things can be. We saw the famous Pallarina, and whatever dumb show can effect she contrived to accomplish: it is impossible to carry farther the art of wringing hands, and staring wildly, and starting suddenly, and fainting and falling. To me, however, it appears that, although a single accident,

such as that of the father dropping his infant from a window, which Garrick made so appalling, may be represented as well by action as by words; yet, to introduce the story, and carry on and unravel the plot, of a drama, merely by gesture, is a poor substitute for such plays as Italy has produced, and is excusable only where the police interferes with the words, as has been the case with some of Alfieri's tragedies. Then indeed the expedient might be not without value, and I heard there was an intention of adopting it at Milan. Whilst we were in Milan (1816), the celebrated Sgricci, the improvvisatore, made his appearance before the critical audience of Lombardy. His visit had been announced and his praises loudly trumpeted by the Bologna Gazette, where it was proclaimed that he had refused the crown of Corinna, as premature, but would accept the well-deserved tribute when he had obtained "the suffrages of all Italy." The novelty, and the challenge, filled the Scala Theatre. We were present in Mr. De Breme's box, where an amusing running commentary kept us awake during a performance, on the whole, rather dull, and broken by intervals more frequent and long than usual on the stage. It opened with music, and, whilst the orchestra were playing, some of the audience handed in folded papers inscribed with subjects for the poet's ingenuity, to a person who shortly retired behind the scenes. The stage was then for some time empty, and the music ceased. The audience became impatient and so eager for the show, that when a man

appeared and came forward, with much ceremony, carrying a vase in his hand, they took him for the poet and applauded loudly. He was a servant, who, placing the vase on the table, withdrew. Then entered a man in mourning and a boy, who took up their position solemnly at opposite ends of the table. The first trial of skill was to be in "versi sciolti," and the man in black read aloud the subjects inscribed on each paper, and then, folding up the papers, threw them into the vase. The audience manifested their opinion of the subjects sometimes by applause, sometimes by loud laughter; but it seemed to us that these subjects, most of them classical or historical, were understood by a much greater number of persons than might be expected to be found in a very large well-filled theatre, promiscuously filled by an audience paying only fifteenpence a-head. At last, all the papers being folded up and thrown into the vase, which was then sufficiently shaken to secure fair play, the boy, with averted head, lifted up his hand, as was the custom at the drawing of our abolished lotteries, and, dipping it into the vase, drew out a paper. The man, opening the paper, read aloud the proposed theme, "The taking of Algiers,"—a happy if not a suspicious chance selection, the place having been taken a few months before. The attendants now withdrew and the table was removed. The anxiety for the commencement of the performance became intense, and broke out into loud clapping of hands. At last SGRICCI appeared, and was received

with shouts of applause. He was fantastically dressed: his long black hair flowed wildly over his face and shoulders, and his neck was bare. He wore yellow Turkish slippers. He began at once to pour forth his unpremeditated verse, invoking, as he said, not the Greek muse, but the muse of Mount Libanus. The classical deities were, however, very soon put in requisition, and we heard a good deal about Amphitrite and Aurora. The poem ended with a speech from the liberated slaves, and this was the only circumstance that distinguished the taking of Algiers from any other successful siege. The recitation lasted nearly a quarter of an hour, and the poet did not hesitate for a single moment. As he withdrew much applause was heard. The attendants with the table and vase again made their appearance, and the same ceremonies were observed as before. The subject chosen for the terze rime was "Artemisia at the tomb of Mausolus." Sgricci again appeared: his action was more vehement than before, and his poetry not less fluent; but we heard very many rhymes in "ente" and "etto." A little child of the Queen of Caria added pathos to the distress of her Majesty, and Aurora was again introduced to console the weeping widow, but nothing was said about the ashes of Mausolus, nor of the tomb giving a name to all superb sepulchres. The performer continued without interruption for about the same time as when attacking Algiers; but he was less applauded than for the siege. He withdrew, and the assistants

came forward and read the subjects proposed for the great trial—the touchstone of genius, the tragedy. The themes sounded like ancient bills of mortality; deaths of kings, queens, heroes, poets, and patriots slowly succeeded each other. None found favour with the audience; but the Apotheosis of Victor Alfieri was received with thunders of applause. It did not, however, turn up, and the paper chosen by the lottery-boy was inscribed "The death of Socrates." There was a long pause, after which Sgricci came on the stage and hoped that another lot might be drawn, as the "benissimo pubblico" would probably think with him that the death of Socrates was not "tragediabile"—a tragedy has, however, been written on the subject. The audience consented to have another lot drawn, and the boy pulled out "The death of Motezuma." Sgricci reappeared, and saying that he could not reconcile the adventures of Motezuma with the manners of Italy, protested that, of the two, he preferred Socrates. On this the audience became very noisy; some called out for Socrates, others for Motezuma, and after a good deal of clamour the lots were a third time tried, and "Eteocles and Polynices" drawn. Even this subject, "tragediabile" enough, seemed to disconcert the poet, who continued so long silent that the audience began to hoot and whistle, and again call for Socrates and Motezuma. At last Sgricci was inspired; he told us that his scene was in the palace at Thebes, his personages Eteocles, Polynices, Jocasta, Tiresias, and Manto, with a chorus of Theban women.

Tossing up his head and hands, he then began versifying in one character, and when he changed to another he walked to the side of the stage. He gave a tolerable copy of the description in Æschylus of the chiefs before Thebes, and he was much impassioned in the part of Jocasta; but the audience gave evident signs of impatience, and before the tragedy was concluded had partially left the house. Though at the end of the fifty minutes during which this surprising exhibition lasted there was some applause, the tragedy was considered a failure, and the whole performance did not satisfy the Milanese. Our friends of the romantic school spoke of it with the utmost contempt; but Monti and Perticari patronized Sgricci, and during his performance were behind the scenes, to inspect the papers and take care that no offensive subjects were introduced amongst them. What La Bendetina, or the great Roman improvvisatore, Gianni, may have been able to perform, I know not, except by the printed poems of the latter, which, if they were really spoken without premeditation, exhibit talents far superior to those which were displayed by Sgricci when we heard him. A judgment of his power in this way may be formed by those who have read the tragedy which he afterwards published, in 1827, I believe. He probably selected for the press that which he thought the best of his spoken dramas.

I think I discover in a charming writer on Italy—Forsyth—an inclination to admire these performances, and he goes so far as to discover signs of improvization

in Homer *himself*, or, rather, *it*self, from the frequent recurrence of the same verses. That the Homeric verses were sung by the rhapsodists ages before they were committed to writing, no one, I believe, denies, but there is a wide difference between unwritten and unpremeditated poetry, and it is hard to believe that any number of the Homeric, or any Greek verses, such as we now read them, were composed and spoken at the same moment. The same may, I presume, be said of all poetry of the highest class; and whatever may be the comparative merit of the Italian improvvisatori, from Serafino d'Acquila down to Signor Sgricci, I never heard but one opinion from men of real judgment in regard to this capacity. They all lamented that encouragement should be given to mediocrity in that department of literature in which, by common consent, mediocrity is not to be borne. The market-place is the proper stage, and the guitar the proper accompaniment, for such effusions, and even the drawing-room may be enlivened by extemporary trifles in verse; but the tragic muse, like the heroines of romance, requires a long and assiduous courtship, and the stage is degraded by exhibitions resembling the real masterpieces of dramatic poetry in nothing but their inferior properties, the metre and the rhyme.

A second exhibition of Sgricci, several years afterwards, when he gave his forty-third extemporary tragedy at Venice, did not alter my opinion, either as to the poet or his performance. He gave us the Earl of Essex,

whom he called "Odoardo;" and as he pretended he knew nothing of the story, it was told to him, somewhat incorrectly, aloud, by a person from one of the boxes of the theatre. The Queen Elizabeth of Sgricci made war upon France. The tragedy lasted two hours. When I went away half the audience had already fled.

It would be well, not only for the literature, but the character of the Italians, if they did not play so much with their noble language. The sing-song exercises of aged monsignori and simple professors, the shepherds, and the lovers, and the poets of Arcadian academies, the eternal sonnet that celebrates every exploit, the inscription ready for all imaginable events and every description of person, bespeak and add to the dangerous facilities of the language, and, combined with political disaster, have filled the country of Dante and Machiavelli with a nation of triflers.* On the other hand, the pedantry of criticism, though it has not added to the strength or ease of composition, and though it affects to decry all these fluent follies, is but trifling of another kind, and must rather impede than promote the real objects of a sound national literature. Who, for example, but an Italian would have thought of

* At Venice I saw a sonnet addressed by the Harlequin of the Arena, an open theatre, to the Venetian people. At the Mira I read this placard:—"Al chiarissimo Signor David Zuliani, medico chirurgo, per l' insigne operazione da esso eseguita alla Mira nell' estrazione della placenta dopo 36 ore del' Parto alla povera Antonia Allegro, SONETTO." Then followed the verses on this uncomfortable subject.

alluding to the verbal licences observable in the fine Hymn to Death dictated by Pandulfo Collenuccio whilst he was waiting for the executioner? * Yet Perticari, himself a poet, did, in his memoir of that historian, remark that there were "alcuni vizj del dire" in these dying notes, such as "preghe" for "preghiere," secondo l' esempio del Cavalca! This seems ridiculous enough, but the memoir was not without merit of another kind; for when it was submitted to a counsellor of state for an imprimatur, the critic struck out several passages, as of dangerous political tendency. Acerbi showed the manuscript to Count Saurau, the governor of Milan, who said "Let it pass," a liberal permission as it appeared to me; but Mr. Acerbi remarked, "The counsellor was afraid, if he made a mistake in such a matter, of losing his place—Count Saurau was not."

* Collenuccio was strangled in prison at Pesaro by order of Giovanni Sforza, then master of that town.

CHAPTER IV.

Milan — The Arena — The country house of Prince Eugene — Napoleon — His personal habits — Illness in 1812 — The sights of Milan.

ONE of the sights of Milan (in 1816) was the Arena, an open circus, the work of Canonici, said to be capable of containing 30,000 spectators, adapted for chariot races and other ancient games. The area can be flooded for the exhibition of "naumachia" on a small scale. This is the unfinished work of Napoleon, who was present at one of the games the year after he was crowned King of Italy. For some time after the change of government the circus was neglected, and the races discontinued; but the velvet throne of Napoleon, and two figures in the ceiling representing him and his empress Josephine, were shown at our first visit. At my next visit, in 1822, the empress was become a Minerva, and the former master of the iron crown was an old man with a beard. The Austrian government, after an interval, continued the work on the circus, and a few days before my third visit, in September, 1828, a boat-race was exhibited, the performers being gondoliers brought from Venice. Even then, however, the Arena was not finished: some of the stone-work being incomplete. The building will hold 30,000 spectators.

The passion for copying the ancients was encouraged

by Napoleon, not only in Italy, but in France; but he wished his subjects to confine their imitations to the artists of Greece and Rome. The writers it was not so safe to hold up as models; accordingly, his Milanese edition of the classics was to have excluded all passages of a democratic tendency. Such an insane project is more than a set-off against the wish to amuse the Lombards with the shows of the amphitheatre. The Austrians are, I believe, not so apprehensive of the text of the old authors, but they are very suspicious of commentators; and the new editions of Virgil and Cornelius Nepos were sent to Vienna for the inspection of the aulic council. Monti, who told me of the projected castration of the classics by Napoleon, was also my authority for the sage precaution of his German successors.

I may here mention that, at this time (1816), strangers were taken to the vice-regal country house of Prince Eugene, built originally by Marshal Belgioso, commonly called the Villa Buonaparte. We went there. It was as handsome a palace as could be made out of a barrack. The rooms appeared as if the late owners had just risen from their chairs, and left them, shortly to return. In the theatre the scenes were standing, and a transparent sun which had shone on the last play acted before the French Viceroy was still dimly seen in the canvas heaven. Those who visited Lombardy at this time saw many similar tokens of the haste of the departed guests, and the laziness or indif-

ference of their immediate followers. The very pictures used at the coronation of Napoleon were in the sacristy of the cathedral at Milan.

The gardens at this villa were inconsiderable; they were English à la Parisienne, as Mr. Simond says; but the park was ten miles in circumference, and filled with game. Beauharnois, like his great stepfather, was fond of the chace—that is, of shooting, and hunting, or coursing, in a very unsportsmanlike style—very different from that in which our Duke used to follow his fox-hounds in the Spanish Peninsula. It is possible there was some little affectation in this attachment to what has long been a royal amusement, particularly of the Bourbons, to whose habits Napoleon was not unwilling to be thought a successor, as well as to their throne. He used, so says an authority not quite incontestable in such matters,* frequently to balance himself on one leg whilst overlooking the card-parties at his court circles—a notorious trick of the two last legitimate sovereigns of France. This was recorded of him in the latter days of his glory—when he was king of kings—when it was reckoned a sign of bad taste and disaffected politics to allude in any way to death, or any of the disastrous chances of humanity, as being common to Napoleon with the rest of the species—and when Geneviève was very nearly compelled to give up the patronage of Paris to the emperor's own saint, Napoleon. It was no wonder

* Madame de Staël, 'Dix Ans d'Exile.'

that the intellect of this marvellous man was not quite proof against the intoxication of the Tuileries; and it now seems pretty certain that it gave way during the dreadful reverses of the Russian campaign. The now celebrated Mr. Beyle told us, at Milan, that he saw Napoleon more than once put the signature "Pompey" to an official paper, and ventured to notice the mistake to his imperial master, who rectified it without any remark.*

* This gentleman in those days was called *De* Beyle, and afterwards called himself, for authorship, Count Stendhall. We were told that he was one of the intendants "de la mobilière de la couronne," and acted occasionally as secretary to Napoleon during the Russian campaign. His anecdote is somewhat confirmed by what M. Thiers has narrated, in his 14th volume 'Du Consulat,' &c., of Napoleon's frequent mention of Pultowa during his retreat from Moscow. I confess I was not aware of the great celebrity of Mr. Beyle until this year (1856), when, opening a clever article in the 'Edinburgh Review' for January, I awoke and "found him famous." My previous acquaintance with him as an author, I ought to be ashamed to say, was confined to a quotation from his 'History of Painting in Italy,' which I found in Moore's 'Life of Byron' (p. 47, vol. i. quarto), and which contains an account of what passed at a dinner given by De Breme to Lord Byron, Monti, and others, at Milan, in 1816. I was one of the guests on that occasion, and can only repeat the old remark, "Although all these things happened in my time, I never heard of them." The dinner was a formal banquet, the attendants being in state liveries; and the whole ceremony—for a ceremony it was—reminded me very much of Rousseau's account of the grand Turinese entertainments, at which he assisted in the capacity of footman. I think that if any one had repeated nearly the whole canto of a poem at table, I must have recollected it. Yet Mr. Beyle says that Monti did repeat the first canto—almost the whole of it—of his own 'Mascheroniana,' "vaincu par les acclamations des auditeurs," on that occasion; and, adds he, "causa la plus vive sensation à l'auteur de Childe Harold. Je n'oublierai jamais l'expression divine de ses traits—

I say nothing of the beautiful Duomo, except recommending the traveller to see it first by moonlight, just as Arthur Young, in his account of Milan, contents himself with saying, "See the Ambrosian Library." That acute and sagacious observer of many things does not appear to have devoted much attention to this famous Library. It seems also that he travelled through France without noticing any symptoms of the convulsion which shortly afterwards flung the monarchy to the ground, and tore all its members to pieces. Since the good agriculturist travelled in 1789, this precious collection has partaken the fortunes of other Italian treasuries—it has been robbed, and all that was lost has not been entirely restored. But the discoveries of Mai have added to the interest of the library: fortunately they came too late to enrich the plundered portion of the Imperial collection at Paris. Had the value of the palimpsests been suspected, not only they, but Mr. Mai himself, might have been transferred to the French capital. Of the pictures and designs which were sent to France, seven are missing, besides the greater part of Leonardo da Vinci's manuscripts. The Petrarchian Virgil, the Josephus, and the illuminated missals are safe; so is that which our fellow-countrymen enquire

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c'était l'air serein de la puissance et du génie." Not only Lord Byron, but every one else, would, I have no doubt, have experienced a very lively sensation at such an exhibition at dinner time; and I feel almost certain that if any such singular occurrence had taken place, I should have noted it at the time.

after more often than any other curiosity, the MS. letters of Bembo and Lucretia Borgia, when Duchess of Ferrara. The very doubtful morality of the lady, and a long lock of her bright yellow hair, add, perhaps, to the attractions of the correspondence. She addresses the Cardinal in a very tender tone, "My dear," and sometimes "My dearest Messr. Bembo," * and sends to him, on one occasion, a copy of Spanish verses. If it is true, as has been said (by Baretti, in his 'Frusta Litteraria,' xxv.), that Bembo's warmth was only in his lips, not in his heart, there was little scandal and less danger in such a literary intercourse. How the hair came with the letters I do not know. The Italians, who write treatises on all subjects, have not overlooked either the letters or the lock of hair. Oltrocchi has a memoir on them, which I have not seen. We endeavoured, in vain, to procure a copy of the letters, but Lord Byron † was allowed to take the smallest possible specimen of the other treasure, for which he proposed this motto from Pope—

"And beauty draws us by a single hair."

Between my first and second visit to Milan (in 1822), some letters of Tasso had been discovered and published. They add nothing to his literary or personal

* If Bembo resembled the bust of him on his tomb in the Cathedral at Padua he was a very handsome man.

† Byron says, in a letter published by Moore, that he was promised a copy of the letters.—*Life*, vol. ii. p. 45.

history. The promotion of Mai to the Vatican had suspended researches in the Ambrosian library. There is not, and never was, a complete catalogue of the books and MSS.—a fortunate neglect—as they might have shared the fate of the pictures.

THE BRERA.

The gallery of pictures collected by the late Government having been accumulated by purchase, and not by plunder, was suffered to remain, without any diminution of its treasures. Guercino's 'Hagar' affected us more than any other of the spoils of the Zampieri Palace,* although the 'Peter and Paul' was once reckoned, so says Arthur Young, the finest picture in Italy.

It is not quite fair to the modern painters to exhibit annually, as is the custom, their productions in the Brera apartments; yet there is always a crowd round the huge flesh-coloured daubs of the living, whilst only a stranger or two are seen near the masterpieces of the dead. The same preferences may, however, be remarked in London and in Paris. The architectural designs and sculptures were far superior to the paintings. Bossi had left no worthy successor, but Marchesi was an artist of great merit; and, in engraving, the Cavalier Longhi was by many considered superior to

* John Bell felt as much as Lord Byron whilst gazing at the Hagar.—OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY, vol. i. p. 74.

Morghen. We visited him (1816), and he showed us some of the plates on which he was then working. One of them was the famous 'Marriage of Joseph and the Virgin,' in the Brera. He also pointed out to us a full-length portrait of Prince Eugene. This work was for some time deposited with the police; for the prince being dressed in vice-regal robes, there was some doubt as to the expediency of encouraging the remembrances of usurpation. But as the engraving was for the prince's cabinet, and he was to pay 24,000 francs for it, the Austrian government restored it to Longhi. This artist was also a painter; he showed us a portrait of a deceased brother, remarking, quietly, "J'ai fait cela pour témoigner le chagrin que j'ai eu pour sa perte," a grief quite as sincere as that which prompted Lord Lyttelton's monody.

ST. AMBROGIO.

Besides the old metropolitan church of this saint, a work of the ninth century, there is, in Milan, a little chapel, where he baptized St. Augustin, and, divinely inspired, broke out into the chaunt "Te Deum laudamus," which the other continued with "Te Dominum confitemur." At the church they still persist in showing the doors, as being those which he shut against the Emperor Theodosius. The stone seats and the double pulpits, and the miraculous serpent, and the brass eagle, and everything within and without the basilica, are, in

appearance, as old as the building itself, excepting the very recent tomb of Marcellina, the sister of Ambrose, and herself a saint, whose relics were removed to this spot in the year 1812, after a procession round the city. The monument and the statue are of the whitest marble, "fresh as a farthing from the mint" amongst a collection of old coins.

St. Ambrose was not a native of Milan, but it was in that city that his virtues and his indomitable energy were chiefly displayed; and it is not a little remarkable that, incontestably the two greatest men that ever flourished in Milan were archbishops and saints. The long interval between Ambrose and Borromeo produced no man in the capital of Lombardy equal to either of them, whether as regards their influence in life, or their renown after death.

ST. LORENZO.

The sixteen columns in front of this basilica, once thought to belong to the Baths of Maximian, are now supposed to have been a portion of the Temple of Hercules, destroyed by Theodosius: so says an inscription on the spot. Being almost the only relic of the Pagan Roman Empire now to be seen at Milan, the inhabitants would do well to be careful of it, but it is as much neglected by them as it is admired by strangers. Mr. Forsyth calls the colonnade "magnificent," and says it is the latest specimen, seen by him, of the ancient

Corinthian. But the Milanese, generally, are not distinguished for their respect for ancient or modern art. Laurenzi's celebrated statues of Adam and Eve were left in the niches in front of St. Celso, and the iron network before them rather prevented them from being seen than afforded them any useful protection, so that they might easily be mistaken for a Venus and youthful Bacchus. They should be removed to the Brera.

STA. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE. THE LAST SUPPER.

This work, itself a restoration, was fast crumbling away. I perceived the process of decay even between 1816 and 1828. The fresco painting at the opposite end of the room is older, but in better preservation; and the frescoes of St. Vittore, between 300 and 400 years old, are as fresh as those of Appiani at St. Celso. Some accuse the oil, others the dampness of the wall, as the cause of the disaster; but the neglect, as well as the positive violence which the picture had to endure when the apartment that it adorned was, successively, a refectory, a stable, and a prison, will account for its condition; the only wonder is that any vestige of it remains. Mr. Eustace talks of it as a work that "was," and had disappeared. If, as a more accurate writer mentions, it is true that the Dominican monks of the convent whitewashed the picture, and it is certain that they cut away the legs of the Saviour and his Apostles, to open a communication between their dining-room and kitchen, they are far more to be condemned than the

barbarians, whether Sclavonians or French, who used it for a target to shoot at, for these soldiers had never seen the wonderful composition until it had been long neglected, and already much effaced. Bossi's copy of it in the Brera is a very fine picture, much superior to the old painting of 1612 in the Ambrosian library. In 1816 we saw that the attempts of the French government to preserve the work from further injury were recorded in an inscription in honour of Eugene. In 1828 the inscription had disappeared.

"The picture is now nearly lost, and all its beauty gone," says John Bell,* who saw it in 1817. This accomplished and scientific observer adds that "This is principally owing to the whimsical theories Leonardo had conceived in the composition, and manner of laying on his colours. He is reported to have been occupied sixteen years in this painting, the chief part of which time was, I doubt not, employed in experiments more properly chemical; and after having tried and rejected many materials, he at last finished the picture in oil, on a ground composed of pitch, mastic, and plaster, combined with some fourth ingredient, and wrought with heated iron; an invention probably altogether his own, but which was afterwards used by Sebastian del Piombo. Over this preparation he laid his fresco, a cement of burnt clay and ochre, which, being mixed up with varnish, formed a colouring of great beauty, but short duration."

* *See* 'Observations on Italy,' vol. i. p. 67, edit. Naples, 1834.

MONZA.

We visited Monza and saw the curiosities there, having obtained the usual permission from Count Saurau. What most struck us, after the holy nail in the inside of the far-famed iron crown, was the skeleton of Count Hector Visconti, who was killed at the siege of Monza in 1412. It was found in the ruins of the old castle, and kept in a cupboard in the cloisters of the cathedral. The flesh was sticking to many parts of it, particularly the hands and the left leg, the ankle of which looked as if just shattered by the shot which killed him: there was an appearance of blood upon it. The hole under his right breast was made after his body was found. His sword, a short, broad, very sharply-pointed weapon, was hanging with him in its sheath. The beginning of the inscription, on a paper in the case containing the bones, runs thus: "This skeleton once enclosed the soul of Count Hector Visconti." * This skeleton and the tombs in the cathedral, and the plaster busts in the old Visconti Palace at Milan, were all that recalled to us the powerful family that so long governed this fine country.

* The Italians do not feel that dread of human bones found amongst other nations. In a little wayside open chapel I have seen skulls piled in fantastic forms of pyramids like cannon-balls in a battery, or stuck in niches like shells in a grotto, with the names of those who owned them living, such as the 'Canonico' and 'il Cavaliere;' and no other distinctive note—no time, or place, or date of age.

CHAPTER V.

Brescia — The neighbourhood — Road to the Adriatic — The Lago di Garda — Sirmium — Catullus — Famine in the Venetian Provinces — Desenzano — Verona — The Amphitheatre — The Congress of 1822 — The tombs of the Scaligers — Romeo and Juliet — Maffei — Arco de' Gavi.

IN our journey from Milan to Venice (1816) we passed through Brescia. The decayed fortifications, the narrow arcaded streets, and the tall towers and battlements,* gave an air of antiquity to this town; but the well-dressed crowd, the gay equipages, and the new theatre, one of the most magnificent in Europe, bespoke prosperity and a large population. The famous pistol manufactory had lost much of its former renown, but there were still 40,000 inhabitants in Brescia, and there was trade enough to supply many well-furnished shops. The palaces, a name given in Italy to the mansions of the higher nobility, were numerous, and the houses in the principal streets were handsome and of a good size.†

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* Torre dell' Orologio, Torre di Pallade, the towers and battlements of the Broletto.

† Mr. Murray's Handbook will show how many things were to be seen in Brescia in 1848. I visited this city in 1845, and went over the Museum of Antiquities, which had been put together since my first visit. I quite agree with the Handbook, that converting the

The immediate neighbourhood of Brescia appeared extremely populous. The interminable plain below it was studded with houses of every description, from the spacious villa to the vine-dresser's cottage; and villages embosomed in fruit-gardens rose one above the other on the sides of the hills as far as the eye could reach. From Rezzato, where the high road leaves the hills, the country did not seem so thickly inhabited, but was equally well cultivated. The road itself, from Milan to the Adriatic, was one of the many works of the French —a noble contrast with the old Venetian road, which was one of the worst in Europe. After Ponte St. Marco we again approached the hills, and beyond Lonato, a small town with a military post on a height, the scenery changed at once, and gave us a view of the high Alps, rising round a dark deep basin, to the north. Descending from Lonato, we soon had our first view of the great lake of Garda, and the thin long strip of land, the Sirmio of the poet, to whom, as is usual in Italy, all the wonders of the Benacus are said to belong. The subterranean ruins of a palace of the Scaligers, on the promontory, are called the grottos of Catullus; and some vestiges of an old town, which may occasionally be seen beneath the surface of the lake, are given to the same classical personage. There were a few fishermen's huts,

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cell of the ruined Temple into a museum for the reception of these remains, was an unhappy idea—as unhappy as desecrating the chapel at Holyrood by modern tombstones.

sheltered by an olive grove, on Sirmione, for it retains its old name; but, when approached, the little peninsula had a desolate and unhealthy appearance—half choked with reeds, the resort of innumerable wild fowl. We stopped at Desenzano, a small town on the side of the lake, with a stone pier and a little port for the boats that exchange the grain from Mantua and the Milanese for the timber of the Tyrol; but our project of visiting Sirmione was not carried into effect, for the rain and mist of an autumnal evening gradually gathering on the mountain shores in the distance, and driving down the lake upon us, we soon saw only an horizon of foaming waters; and had we wished to try the voyage, no boat would have ventured out with us. The waves leapt up the little promontories which we could now and then discern for a moment, and drove against the pier with all the roar and violence of a stormy sea. Although Virgil recollected the tempests of the Benacus, Catullus, the poet of Sirmio, found perfect repose in his much-loved home; and, in regard to Virgil's epithet, Lord Byron remarked that, in one respect, the lake did not resemble the sea, for when the storm subsided there was no swell in the offing.

This was a year (1816) of great distress in the Venetian provinces;* millet, the principal food, had risen

* The peasants were reduced to feed on cakes made of grass. New diseases appeared. The medical faculty memorialized the Aulic Council, who transmitted an Imperial rescript to be read in all the churches, recommending the people to live generously, on

from one soldo to five for the pound; the taxes were the same as under the French, eight francs a-head capitation tax, and twenty francs for exemption from military service in the civic guard; but there was no employment; and eleven hundred of the inhabitants of Salo, a town on the lake rendered famous by the residence of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, had sold everything and repaired to Genoa, intending to emigrate, but they were sent back again, and were now dispersed over the country, and, to a man, begging from door to door. An improvisatore, singing in the streets of Desenzano when we were there (5th Nov. 1816), attributed this misery to the Austrians—an unlucky flight, for the poor poet was arrested and imprisoned.

From Desenzano we passed onwards to Peschiera, a fortress of the Scaliger princes, constructed amongst the reeds at the end of the lake, where the Mincio flows out of it, and not into it, as Gibbon so strangely asserted.*

VERONA.

"Magna et præclara pollet urbs hæc in Italiâ, in partibus Venetiarum, ut docet Isidorus, quæ Verona

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good meat and wine, that diet being the only cure of the disorder. They wanted, doubtless, to rival Maria Theresa in her prescription of croûte de pâté. The same wise men, in the programme of the procession of the patriarch on taking possession of his see, prescribed his progress to St. Mark's in a coach and six!!

* See 'Historical Illustrations of Childe Harold,' canto iv. p. 58. 2nd edit. 1818, and page 330 of this volume.

vocitatur olim antiquitus." This was written about the year 790, when Charlemagne was master of Italy and Pepin himself resided in Verona; but the reign of the Carlovingian princes lasted only seventy-three years, and Verona itself, although it appears to have been the strongest place of refuge in upper Italy, could not keep out the Barbarians, who for fifty years spread themselves over the fairest portion of the Peninsula. The Hungarians, a nation described as more ferocious than ferocity, were in Verona about the year 900;* and it is said that the fall of some ancient edifice during their stay was nearly fatal to the Arena, the famous attraction of the place, for much damage being done by this accident, it was thought advisable to pull down that part of the other great building which threatened a similar catastrophe—accordingly what was standing of the outer circle of arcades of the amphitheatre was pulled down. The repairs began as early at least as the end of the sixteenth century, as an inscription records,† and have been frequent since that period. Napoleon devoted an annual sum to that object, and his zeal was commemo-

* "Gens ipsa feritate ferocior ac omnium Barbarorum immanitatem post se relinquens," says Muratori, 'Antiquitat. Medii Ævi.' Diss. Prima I. i. p. 22. There seems to have been a friendly contest between Maffei and Muratori as to the exact date of the Hungarian invasion; but the latter, in his 40th Dissertation, says positively, "Tota ergo periodus ærumnarum quas ab Hungris Italia sustinuit inter annum 900 et ann. 950 revera concluditur."—P. III. p. 670.

† Quod ex parte corruerat civitas a solo restituit, MDXCV.

rated as usual, but the inscription has been effaced. The Austrian government, however, continue to devote the same sum to the same purpose. Like the Coliseum, in former days, the lower arcades of this vast structure were, in part, converted into mean dwellings, one or two of which were inhabited when we first saw it. I cannot, however, call to mind the old clothes' shops, by which Mr. Simond entered into the Arena, nor did I see any of the rags which that amusing writer must have thought were the common banners of Italy, for he met them flying everywhere, and delighted to contrast the "guenilles" with the past grandeur and present pride of the Italians. A wooden theatre and a circus for equestrian performances, were, we saw, fitted up and lost in the vast area. A better opportunity of comparing an ancient with a modern exhibition of such games could not have been devised. The whole audience of the theatre could now be easily seated on a small section of a few yards of the ancient amphitheatre; and the other spectacle, similar to Astley's or Franconi's, might take place, at the same time, without interfering with the dramatic performance, whilst in spite of both shows, including audience and actors, men and horses, scenes and wooden circus, the huge circumference would appear almost empty.* Large as it is Mr. Simond

* The dimensions were as follows:—The actual elevation of the outer wall, 110 feet, but originally it was between 40 or 50 feet higher. The largest diameter, 478 feet; the smaller, 375 feet. The

denies the possibility of 60,000 spectators finding room in the Veronese amphitheatre, and reduces the number to one half; nevertheless it was calculated that when Pius VI. in 1782 gave his benediction there, no less than eighty thousand partook of the blessing. The ceremony is thus recorded :—

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circumference, 1344 feet. Mabillon (Iter. Italic. tom. i. p. 24, edit. Paris, 1724) calls it "opus insigne ac fere integrum a Veronensibus magna diligentia servatum;" but he reduces the number of spectators to 26,000.

In the 'Rythmical Description of Verona,' written about the year 790, there are these lines :—"Habet altum laberinthum, magnum, per circuitum in qua nescius egressus non valet egredi nisi igne lucernæ vel a filo glomere.[a] Foro lato specioso sternuto lapidibus—ubi in quatuor cantus magnus instat forniceps—plateæ miræ sternutæ desectis lapidibus."—(*Rerum Ital. Script.* t. ii. § ii, p. 1095.)

The exact date of building the amphitheatre is unknown; nor is it known at what period the ruin of this huge structure began. I cannot recover the allusion to the ruin in the time of the Hungarians. I find no earlier record of its decay than the notice in the 'Chronicon Veronense,' under date M.CLXXXIII :—"Millesimo supradicto intrante mense Januario, maxima pars alæ Arenæ Veronæ cecidit terra motu magno per prius facto, videlicet ala exterior."—(*Script. Rer. Ital.* t. viii. p. 622.)

The restoration and care of the Arena began at an early period—certainly in the 13th century; but after that date the stones of it were carried away and used for modern buildings, and this "fatal use" of them, Maffei is obliged to confess was continued at least up to 1406.—(*Degli Anfiteatri*, lib. primo, p. 140, oper. t. v., edit. Milan, 1826.)

The integrity of the inside of it, and the red cement used in reconstructing the blocks, give a very modern appearance to this part of the structure, which contrasts strongly with the exterior ruin.

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[a] Maffei reads—Cum fili glomere, and "nunquam" instead of "non."

"PIUS VI. PONT. MAX.

"Trans alpino rediens itinere civibus et incolis provinciæ per cuneos arenamque compositis ab aureo solio cœlestia munera exoravit."—*M. Savorniano, Præfecto.*

It is true that the multitude was not commodiously arranged, for, when the blessing was given, much confusion took place and many were seriously injured. The influx of strangers into the city on that occasion caused also a temporary famine. No such mischief happened when Joseph II. witnessed a bull fight there, which he appears, from inscriptions, to have done in 1769 and 1779, nor could all the sovereigns of the Congress in 1822 attract so dangerous an assemblage, for nothing could pass off more peaceably than the concert and the ball with which their imperial and royal majesties were regaled in the amphitheatre. I happened to be at Verona a few days afterwards before the decorations of the festival had been removed. In the middle of the arena stood a gigantic figure, half plaster, half drapery, of Madonna Verona; and, on the exterior wall, a large placard, like that of a travelling menagerie, contained the following invitation:—

"Quotquot Veronæ considitis
Imperatores, Reges, Principesque viri
Dignitate, auctoritate, sapientiâ
Præstantissimi.
Amphitheatrum ingredimini
Et amplitudini animarum
Par siet loci amplitudo."

The English song-writer asks for a bowl "as large as his capacious soul;" but the magnanimity which could

not be circumscribed by the amphitheatre was hardly to be found at the congress of Verona. A few days after the concert in the amphitheatre the allied sovereigns attended the performance of a cantata composed for the occasion, and presented by the Chamber of Commerce of Verona as "an offering to their adored sovereign the Emperor Francis." The august visitors consisted of the Emperor Alexander, the Emperor Francis, the Empress of Austria, the King of Naples, the King of Sardinia, the Duchess of Lucca, the Archduke Reynier, Viceroy of Lombardy, and the Empress Maria Louisa. All these, excepting the last, were in the Imperial box in front of the orchestra. When they first entered, the Emperor Alexander and the Empress of Austria seemed to preside over the ceremonies and to lead in the minor monarchs and introduce them to the people who greeted them warmly, particularly a lady whom they mistook for Maria Louisa. These great personages were some time before they could arrange themselves in due order; but after much bowing and curtsying they were seated, and the performance began. The audience consisted of the masters of the civilised world, most of them present in person, and all by their ambassadors. The men, the scene, the occasion, it would seem impossible to imagine a more imposing spectacle; nevertheless the general effect was inconsiderable, and Rossini's music, sung by Galli, Crevelli, and Velluti, the first artists in Italy, coupled with such poetry as the occasion required, was not esteemed one of his happy efforts. Whether the

music was admired or not we could not at the time judge, for all applause was forbidden, except with reference to the real personages of the scene. Fileno, Elpino, Alceo, Argene, and other shepherds and shepherdesses, representatives of the Lombard Provinces, the Genius of the House of Austria, attended by Clemency, Faith, Justice, and Valour, passed almost unnoticed before the assembled monarchs; even the Emperor Francis scarcely noticed, unless by a nod, the marks of favour bestowed upon the Genius of his House, nor moved his eyes from the printed Cantata containing his own praises. It will be seen, from the dedication of the Canto to the Emperor Francis, that the Veronese, to use an expression of Swift, "gave their monarch better weight."

"SACRA MAESTÀ.

"Se dalla eminente maestà del Trono commisurar si dovesse l' offerte di un ceto di devotissimi suddetti, il commercio di Verona serberebbe un profondo e rispettoso silenzio; ma non isdegna un Padre amoroso di raccogliere i teneri sensi de' proprj figli, e questa idea non meno vera che dolce rinfranca, fra tutti, qué Veronesi che sono adetti al commercio.

"Pochi carmi pronunciati dalla pastorale innocenza possano meritare uno solo sguardo benigno della paterna maestà vostra, e saranno così adempiati que' voti del cuore che lingua alcuna, nè penna, esprimer potrebbe adeguamente."

Whilst looking at the cluster of crowned heads it was impossible not to remark that the absolute lords of so many millions of men had not only nothing to distinguish them from the common race of mankind, but were, in appearance, inferior to what might be expected from

the same number of gentlemen taken at hazard from any society in Europe. Nor was there to be seen a trait expressive of any great or attractive quality in all those who were to be the sources of so much happiness or misery to so large a portion of the civilised world. Yet some of those were notoriously good men in their private capacity, and scarcely one of them has been distinguished for vices eminently pernicious to society, or any other than the venial failings of humanity; or, as a writer of no democratic tendency* says of them, "all excellent persons in private life, all scourges of the countries submitted to their sway."

Of the sovereigns at Verona the Emperor Alexander took the most pains to ingratiate himself with the Veronese, by rambling about in pretended incognito, and seizing the hands of the ladies whom he happened to encounter in the streets, or giving sequins to the boys at play. He one day amused himself with carrying up the coffee to his brother of Austria, and it was some time before Francis discovered that he was waited upon by an emperor in disguise. A strange but innocent frolic, but "vellem his potius nugis."

To prepare for the Congress two hundred policemen were despatched from Venice to Verona, and two hundred from Milan. The number of troops in the city and round it amounted to 10,000. The principal employment of the police was to watch the proceedings of those

* Mr. Stewart Rose, in his *Letters from the North of Italy.*

to whom it was not desirable the Italians should have promiscuous access. The Emperor Alexander and the Duke of Wellington were the especial objects of their care. The latter peculiarly so; for he had been much cheered in St. Mark's Square at Venice, and had become, unwittingly no doubt, very popular by appearing in the pit at the opera-house there in plain clothes. Every movement of the Emperor Alexander was vigilantly observed and noted. A legion of spies hovered round him wherever he went. At this time (1822) these most odious of all the satellites of despotism were in full activity. The commotions of 1820 and 1821 had roused the suspicions of all the petty monarchs of the Peninsula, as well as of their master at Vienna. The persons employed were chiefly natives of the Italian Tyrol, who corresponded directly with Vienna or Milan, without reference to the local authorities. One of these spies did, however, hand in a report to the delegate at Verona implicating several respectable Veronese families, and, upon receiving a reproof for his officiousness, actually went to Milan and saw the Archduke Viceroy himself, who made him a present of a hundred louis d'or. Thus encouraged he returned to Verona, and very soon sent in a list of Carbonari to Milan, including amongst them the delegate himself. It was not without some difficulty that the magistrate was saved and the denunciator exposed.

Philip de Comines had sagacity enough to see that

the interviews of sovereigns seldom are advantageous to themselves, and it is equally or more certain that their respective subjects derive no benefit from them, often the contrary. The ambition of Napoleon was not cured by meeting Frederick and Alexander on the raft, nor was the future intimacy between the sovereigns more cordial or sincere than before the meeting. Their subjects traced from it nothing but future wars and more bloodshed. The conferences at Aix produced no fruit except the melancholy reaction in France. The royal meeting at Troppau immediately preceded the regulations against German liberty. At Laybach the subjugation of Italy was resolved upon; and the congress of Verona, although it did not cause, yet permitted the French invasion of Spain.

The Veronese are supposed to be much attached to the ancient order of things: they were the last to yield to the French in 1797, after a sanguinary struggle, of which there were signs in 1822. The French troops were in possession of the Castle of St. Pietro; the citizens were masters of the town. The consequence was that the shot from the castle injured several buildings, which were not repaired when we saw them. Since that time the population has much decreased, and the silk trade, which used to employ 10,000 hands, is also on the decline. Maffei says of the silk, "Che la gran quantità d'un così prezioso prodotto si è resa da gran tempo il primo sangue di questo corpo civile; poichè per 5, 6, e fino a sette cento mila ducati di denaro

forestiero si può tirar con la seta annualmente in Verona." *

Verona is built on the side and on the area of a natural theatre of hills, the base of the high Alps; and, what with its old battlements above, its dilapidated bridge, and its great Roman ruin in the centre below, has itself the air of an antiquity. The Adige flows circuitously through the town, and before the peace of Presburg (1805) was the boundary between the Lombard and Venetian states. The Veronese were always proud of their old bridge,† whose largest arch, not in the centre, but on one side, they boast is larger than that of the Rialto. The modern part of it was the work of Can Grande the Second. Five centuries have spared the tombs of the three Scaliger princes, which, although not in any church, but in what was once a churchyard, the old cemetery of Sta. Maria Antica, now

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* VERONA ILLUSTRATA, *parte terza, capo primo.* Edit. Milan, 1826.

† Hist. lib. ii. cap. xi. Liutprand calls it "ingens marmoreus novi operis miræque magnitudinis pons," and says nothing of the amphitheatre. This eleventh chapter of Liutprand affords a curious specimen of the learning of the ecclesiastics of the tenth century. The good bishop puts into the mouth of the traitor who betrayed King Lewis to Berengarius the words of our Saviour:—"Estote misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est. Nolite judicare et non judicabimini," &c. And Berengarius addresses his captive with the first words of Cicero's Catilinarian Oration: — "Quousque tandem abutere, Ludovice, patientiâ nostrâ?" for which abuse of his patience the ferocious conqueror condemns the King to lose his eyes, saying to him,—"Vitam tibi, sicut ei qui te mihi prodidit promiseram concedo, oculos vero tibi auferri non solum jubeo sed compello."

an open street, and protected only by iron trellis-work, have received no injury. The elegant fretwork and the small statues of these shrines are fresh and unfaded. The stone coffins are in the air; and in 1816 my fellow-traveller, naturally enough, remarked that such a sepulchre renders the contemplation of death less dreadful than our dreary deep-sunk underground vaults. In Italy this custom is very general; and even in the churches the sarcophagus is usually above-ground. With us the monument is a cenotaph. There is no memorial which recalls the lives of our great predecessors so vividly as that which records their deaths; but when we find ourselves surrounded by their mortal remains, the feeling is still stronger, and we almost fancy ourselves their contemporaries. In Italy the great men are to be sought for amongst the tombs.

The style of the tombs of the Scaligers is a mixture of the pointed and the Romanesque. Cansignorio,* the

* This magnificent Lord Cansignorius three days before his death killed his brother Paulus Albuinus, in order that his own bastards, Bartholomew and Anthony, might succeed him. They did succeed him, and then Bartholomew killed his brother Anthony; shortly after which murder, Verona fell into the hands of Franciscus Novellus, of Carrara; and, says the chronicler:—"Et sic finivit dominium illorum de la Scala qui mutuo se interfecerunt, etc. Et sic finis ipsorum est." "And so ended the dynasty of the De la Scalas, who killed one another; and so there was an end of them."—(*Chronicon Veronense*, ab an. 1117, ad an. usque 1278; *Rer. Ital. Scrip.* t. viii. p. 660, ed. Milan, 1726.) But it appears by the story that the chronicler is wrong—Bartholomew did not kill Anthony, but Anthony killed Bartholomew. Anthony himself was poisoned in

worst of the three princes, has by far the largest monument.

The shrines of the Scaliger princes are not, however, so much the object of curiosity for Englishmen as the stone coffin called the Tomb of Juliet, which may be equally authentic with the Shakspearian relics at Stratford-on-Avon, for there is the same proof for it, namely, the positive assertion of the local authorities. The sarcophagus lies above-ground in a garden without the city, where stood the Franciscan convent of Friar Lawrence. A tradition tells that it had been originally in a

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Ravenna by order of John Galeazzo Visconti,[a] to whom the final overthrow of the Scala family must be ascribed.—(See *Hallam's Middle Ages*, chap. iii. part ii.) The Scaligers were lords of Verona about 113 years. The last, who reigned for a few days, was Guglielmo de la Scala, who was a bastard of Can Grande II. He and his sons were supported by Francisco Novello de Carrara; and in the quarrels between that prince and the Venetians, Verona was taken by the latter, who held it until their downfall in 1797.

The Carrara family were masters of Padua about eighty-seven years, from Giacomo Grande, in 1318, to Francesco II., who was strangled in the prisons of Venice with his two sons—a tragical story, but disposed of very summarily by Sannudò, the biographer of the Doges:—"A 17 di Gennajo, a ora di vespro, s' intese per la terra, che il Signor Francesco da Carrara di Padova era stato in prigione strangolato per deliberazione del Consiglio de' Dicci, e fu detto esser morto de catarro. Il suo corpo fu portato a sepilire a Santo Stefano in un arca. Sicchè si dice *uom morto non fa guerra.*"—*Vite de' Duchi di Venezia;* ap. *Rer. Ital. Scrip.* tom. xxii. p. 832, edit. 1733.

* See Mr. Gally Knight's splendid work, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in Italy*, vol. i. plate 34.

[a] The historians Daru and Sismondi give to this cruelty its proper stigma. The man chosen for the ignoble office of executioner was Bernard di Friuli, a patrician.

church, and sceptics assert that the old tomb has been lost; but, between my first and third visit, in 1845, to Verona, a picture of the church and tomb had been happily imagined, to satisfy the inquiries and silence the doubts of strangers.

For one English traveller who has read Dante or thinks anything of Can Grande on entering this city, ten thousand call to mind that Romeo and Juliet, according to their historian-poet, lived, and loved, and died in Verona; and I may add that Lord Byron and myself talked a great deal more of Shakspeare than of Catullus, or Claudian, or Dante, and listened attentively to the guide, who told us the true story, out of the tragedy, and added, that, although Juliet died so long ago as 1303, the Montecchi and Capuletti families were not yet quite extinct. But this was long before the days of handbooks. We carried off a chip of the red marble from the tomb itself, like true believers.*

The so-called tomb of King Pepin, although partly underground, has been less respected than that of the Scaligers. The vault was opened, and the body, whose ever it was, carried away—some said by the French. The Germans had as little respect for the church and cemetery and tomb of St. Zeno, the patron saint of Verona,† for they converted the cloisters into a cavalry

* See Lord Byron's Letter of Nov. 17, 1816, in Moore's *Life*, quarto, vol. ii. p. 50. See also Murray's *Handbook*, which laughs at the sentimental young and elderly ladies who do as we did.

† See the ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF ITALY, *vol.* i. *plate* v.

barrack. The sexton, showing the place, remarked that the said French and Germans were "dui bovi"—a true impartial Italian contempt for all Transalpines. Both these oxen had spared a beautiful fresco in the cloisters —an infant Jesus. The Martyrdom of St. George, in the church of that name, by Paul Veronese, and the famous Assumption, by Titian, in the cathedral, had not gained admirers by their return from Paris; for they were in positions where it was very difficult to see them distinctly, and were, moreover, exposed to injury from damp, and candle-smoke, and incense.

Verona has been fortunate in producing a writer who devoted much of his life and learning to illustrate his native city, and whose partiality, fond as it is, seldom betrays him into exaggeration. Maffei's great work, 'Verona Illustrata,' has been abridged for the use of strangers, who might find it inconvenient to travel with the five volumes of the last Milan edition of 1826; but, in truth, the curiosity of foreigners is generally monopolized by the amphitheatre, and is contented with a glance at the other Roman remains. The double gateway of Gallienus is much of the same merit as his arch at Rome; but I cannot say that it struck me as being overloaded with ornament.* Being the first I had seen in Italy, I read the inscription with the interest with

* "L' architettura di questa porta benche viziosa per l' eccesso degli ornamenti e per licenze in essa usate mostra l' arte già guasta ma non perduta."—VERONA ILLUST. P. III. cap. 2, vol. iv. p. 72, edit. Milan, 1826.

which any record of the masters of the Roman world inspired me in those days; and when I saw the "Coss" felt some awe, without much considering who the consuls were and what the emperor was. The Arco di Gavi, which Palladio called "most beautiful," the work of a period of art superior to that of Vitruvius, according to Scammozi, was taken down by the French at their first conquest of Lombardy. Maffei, however, terms it part of the skeleton of an arch.*

Two of the arches of the Ponte di Pietra, which abut upon the Castello Vecchio, are a Roman work; all that remains of the ancient theatre can only be seen inside a house in the Piazetta del Redentore. These and some fragments of the old wall of Gallienus are, so far as I am aware, the only ancient remains of a city which, for relics of Roman magnificence, has been ranked next to Rome.† But the Lapidario of Maffei, the successor of the Philharmonic Museum, which attracted the attention of Mabillon,‡ has been much increased since the death of its illustrious founder; and the Athenian Will, which the French carried to Paris, has been restored to the collection.

Verona, from the days of Constantine, has been the

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* "Parte dello scheletro d'un arco, celebratissimo parimente dagli architetti."—VERON. ILLUS. vol. iv. p. 83.

† "E poichè Verona in maggior copia ne has conservato di qualunque altra città eccettuando Roma."—VERON. ILLUS. yol. iv. cap. 11, p. 62.

‡ ITER ITALIC., tom. i. cap. 16. He travelled in 1685.

great bulwark of Upper Italy. That conqueror, in his struggle for empire, fought his first important battle under its walls; and here it was that, in 1848, the fate of the peninsula was decided; so that, in one sense, Verona might in these days be called, as she was in the time of the Scaligers,—

"Citta ricca e nobile,
Donna e Reina delle terre Italiche."*

When I passed some days there in 1845, every height appeared to me crowned by a battery commanding the city; and I was told that the Austrians were still adding to the defences of the citadel.

* Canzone diretta a Mastin della Scala.—VERON. ILLUS. tom. iv. cap. prim. p. 61.

CHAPTER VI.

Verona to Montebello — Vicenza — Palladian villa of Count Capra — Olimpic Theatre — Effect of political condition on dramatic writing — Goldoni — Modern melodrames — Condition of Italian actors — The Sette Communi — Padua — The University — The Bo — Tomb of Antenor — Livy — Famous natives of Padua — St. Anthony — St. Giustina — Dondi.

THE country between Verona and Montebello appeared to Burnett, nearly two centuries ago, to be better cultivated than any other part of Italy. The merit of the culture is not easily determined by a passing traveller, but nothing can exceed the beauty of it, nor the apparent richness. The vines hang in festoons from rows of mulberry trees, in fields of clover, and millet, and maize, and other grains. The neighbouring hills are clothed with vineyards and gardens to their summits, and are studded with white villages and villas, with, here and there, an old castle, or a walled town, upon a distant height. The country, on the day we passed (1816), seemed to have poured forth all its population into the roads. All classes, gaily or neatly dressed, were hurrying to the fair at Verona; groups of children were playing in the fields by the road-side, and one little girl was swinging on a festoon of vine tendrils between the mulberry trees. There was nothing in the

scene to remind us that this country had been a battle-field over and over again, and, only a little more than two years ago, had been the theatre of war. Montebello, indeed, with its castle, did recall the victory and the title of one of Napoleon's most favoured marshals.

From this place to the neighbourhood of Vicenza the country is less populous and less enclosed. The Euganean range appears on the south, whilst the dark shadowy forms of the Trentine Alps bound the northern horizon. Near Vicenza the white villages, and gaudy summer-houses, and battlemented walls of gardens, crown the summits of vine-covered, conical eminences, hardly to be called hills. The immediate approach to the city is through a suburb of detached villas; but the general effect is much more pleasing than the individual examination of these Palladian abodes, where mansions of porticoes and pediments, with an approach between sculptured pilasters, surmounted by statues of gods and heroes, are frequently found to be in a cabbage garden, enclosed by four dead walls.

VICENZA.

The author of 'Letters from the North of Italy' says of this place, "I saw more beggars and more palaces*

* Vicenza seems to have overflowed with nobles and powerful families. At the end of the 'Chronicles' of Godi, who is thought to have written about the year 1313, three lists are given: the first, of fifty-six families, settled in Vicenza; the second, of twelve noble

here than in any other town in Italy." We did not find beggars in much greater force here than in other Italian cities of 30,000 inhabitants. The architectural merit of the palaces, which it requires an architectural eye to understand, is not set off by the narrowness of the streets, made still narrower by arcades, nor by the multitude of white tin pipes projecting from the eaves, nor by the number of these buildings, which diminishes the effect of each of them.* But the Palazzo Pubblico (or Prefettizio), the Gothic basilica, with Palladian loggie, the two columns, between which, as at Venice, criminals were executed, and other structures of the Piazza de' Signori, are grand and imposing. I am not aware of any Roman remains at Vicenza, but Mabillon was shown some fragments of an ancient amphitheatre.† Strangers are taken to see the villa Capra, the prototype of Palladian Chiswick. It is worth a walk, and so also is the Monte Berico, with its arcaded stations, and the sanctuary at the summit, if it

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families, all of them counts, who were extinct, and scarcely remembered, when the list was copied from the MSS.; the third, of ninety-nine powerful families, many of them noble and very ancient. Yet Vicenza seems to have been pre-eminently miserable in these dark days. The chronicler, a noble native of the city, begins his Proludium in these terms:—"Enarrare deliberanti miserias, afflictiones, oppressiones, clades, depopulationes, stupra, incendia, calamitates, et cædes quas civitas Vicentia, ejusque districtus hactenus passa est," &c.—RER. ITAL. SCRIP. t. viii. p. 69, edit. Milan, 1726.

* The Handbook calls them Venetian Gothic.

† ITER ITALIC., tom. i. p. 25, cap. 17.—"Voracissima temporis injuria Vicentina monumenta adeo attrita sunt ut nunc prisci decoris perexigua supersit notitia," said a learned Vicentine to Mabillon.

were only to enjoy the prospect of the lovely country, and the city, and the winding river, Bacchiglione, below. The Letters from the North of Italy have given due praise to this charming scene.

THE OLIMPIC THEATRE.

This copy of an ancient playhouse received its name from the Society of the Olimpici, at whose expense it was built. It is not only without a rival, but without an imitation, for Scammozzi's theatre, at Sabbionetta, has long ceased to exist; yet every other Palladian structure has been copied in every country in Europe, and such a wooden building, with its stuccoed statues and decorations, would cost but little, and would be a useful appendage to classical schools, and even our own universities. The theatre was not finished until 1584, four years after the death of Palladio, when Vincenzo Scammozzi completed it, and it was opened with the 'Œdipus' of Giustiniani. The 'Sofonisba' of Trissino was twice performed there; but in later times it has been used only for balls and concerts given in honour of the succeeding sovereigns of Italy;—Joseph II., Napoleon, and Francis, enjoyed that distinction. The records of loyalty towards the first of these Emperors still disfigured, in 1822, the bases of some of the statues. The theatre is capable of holding 2400 spectators.

Italy was, and still is, famous for the magnificence of her theatres; and dramatic writing was, and still is, her

comparatively inferior accomplishment. Her political condition has generally been adduced as the sufficing cause of this deficiency—it appears to me without reason, for Corneille and Molière were not the citizens of a free state, nor did our own greatest dramatists live under such institutions as we now enjoy. Indeed, even in our own times, the stage licenser has had something more than nominal authority. Besides, the many communities of Italy were not always governed despotically. Macchiavelli could expose hypocrisy in Florence, and, in the worst times, the writers of one state might display their humour at the expense of follies notoriously prevalent in another. It may be added that the best comedies may be produced without giving offence to the most sensitive government. The 'School for Scandal,' or the 'Suspicious Husband,' would have encountered no opposition from any Italian authority, had any Italian genius been equal to the production of them. The same may be said of tragedy, except where, in times of excitement, the representation of certain exploits, and the expression of particular sentiments, may bear too directly upon existing circumstances, and awaken feelings which a prudent government would wish to lie dormant. It is no wonder that the 'Congiura de' Pazzi' should be a forbidden play, but the 'Mirrha,' and other of Alfieri's tragedies, which are daily performed, show that, where great dramatic genius really exists, it can easily find means for the display of all its powers, even within the limits prescribed by despotism. Except

'Julius Cæsar,' all Shakspeare's plays might be performed at Vienna. The early tragic writers chose many of the same subjects as were afterwards adopted with so much success in England and in France. 'Mariamne,' 'Tancredi,' 'Merope,' 'Cæsar,' 'Semiramis,' had appeared in Italy before they had triumphed beyond the Alps. In truth, if freedom from restraint were the chief incentive to dramatic talent, the Italians would excel as much in dramatic composition as in other branches of literature, for their comedy abounds in satire and sarcasm capable of personal application more than the dramas of France or England; indeed, the Commedia dell' arte, on which it is founded, is little else than satirical drollery. The chief merit of it, as Lord Byron observed to me, consists in telling home truths; but the plots are flimsy and insignificant, the characters are individual and local, not specific and general. The manners and sentiments resulting from such plots and characters are not so much those of nature, nor of European society, as they are artificial and provincial, intelligible only to one sort of audience, and in one community. The language partakes, in some degree, of the same defect; and like inferior English comedies, much of the humour consists in the dialect. The half extemporary farces, now banished from the regular stage, the masked Pantaloons of Venice, the pasteboard Girolamos of Milan, might be adduced to prove that the Italian genius is not averse to merriment; far from it, since the broad humour of these

buffooneries, which are frequently announced as "TUTTO DA RIDERE," is really very laughable. I saw Vestris in the 'Trumpeter,' at Venice; Liston was never better.

But Goldoni, who aspired to the real honours of the sock, and who is generally thought to have obtained them—he, as it appears to me, may be quoted as proof that comedy, in the modern sense of the word, as distinct from farce and tragedy, is not one of the productions of Italian genius. Ariosto, Bentivoglio, the comic writers of Florence, with the great Macchiavelli himself, have shown how far the art was understood by the classical dramatists of former times; yet no one but an Italian critic would compare the best of their productions with the masterpieces of the French or English school; nor would the Italians themselves now tolerate them on the stage. Are any of the Tuscan comedies, are even Lasca's, ever acted in these days? I believe not, any more than the Aminta or the Canace, or the Calandria, all of which, in their different styles, were the wonder and the delight of their day, and established the reputation of their respective authors. Cesarotti, in his letter to Denina, says of Speroni's play, that if Canace is now forgotten, her contemporary sisters have not survived her. Nor would Goldoni himself be popular even now, were it not that, with all his defects, he has not been surpassed by any native writer. But I contend that these defects are not to be attributed to the political condition of the people for whom he wrote.

He fails in points totally unconnected with such a cause, and is tainted with those vices which I have already described as characteristic of modern Italian comedy.* Mr. Forsyth seems to attribute the inferiority of dramatic composition partly to the preference given to the opera, and partly to the degraded condition of the Italian actor. But how was it that music came to be preferred to the language of the stage? and how, in a country where dramatic imitation seems the delight of all classes, how was it that the professors of the histrionic art fell into contempt? Whatever may be the cause of the deficiency, the Italians themselves seem as sensible of it as foreigners; and most of the plays, not tragedies, which I have seen in Italy, were imitations or translations from the sentimental comedies, or tales, which have disgraced the literature and infested the stage of our own and other countries. The half-historical, patchwork piece, a monster on the stage, and which, even in romance, requires a master genius to make it tolerable, was attempted by Goldoni before it became so popular in the succeeding age; but it was seasoned with satirical allusions and mimicry, intelligible to natives but lost upon foreigners. Such is his Torquato Tasso, written to ridicule the Tuscans, in which Leonora is the mistress, not the sister, of Al-

* For the opinion given of Goldoni I would refer to a most competent authority, the late Stewart Rose. My friend di Breme was of the same way of thinking, and gave mortal offence by calling him "Parron Venetico."

phonso, in which the poet's madness is attributed to love, and after being sent to the hospital, not for seven years, but five minutes, he accepts an invitation to be crowned in the Capitol, and so concludes the drama. His Molière is another strange perversion of personal history. It is in rhyme, and, to say the truth, is no favourite with the Italians. I saw it performed at the St. Luca Theatre, at Venice, to an audience of just fifty-five souls. Since the days of Goldoni there have been numberless biographical dramas of a similar kind, and even contemporary heroes are occasionally introduced, not, as with us, to help out an exhibition of horsemanship, but as amusements of the regular stage. We saw Lord Exmouth bombarding Algiers to a very crowded audience at Venice, not long after the real admiral had triumphed on the coast of Barbary. His lordship was dressed in a jacket, with a feather in his cap.* Mythological dramas, like operas without music, or ballets without dancing, are very popular with them; to us they would be intolerable. I have before said that the actor is held in no honour in Italy; in fact, he is treated like a stroller of the lowest order—his supplications to the audience, his showman's picture, playhouse-placard, his dress, his scenery, his benefit begging-tray —all bespeak the meanness of his condition. The

* Our friends the French put up with this miserable mock drama. A thing, called 'Edmond Kean,' represents that great actor as rival for some woman with the Prince of Wales, and boxing with him.

whole expenses of one of the principal theatres at Venice, including the salaries of the actors, amounted in one season only to three hundred pounds; yet the company Vestris e Venier addressed the most benevolent public in strains of pathetic gratitude for past favours and solicitation for future patronage. "If there is a happy moment in the life of man," said one of these placarded addresses, "it is when he revisits friends dear to him by the recollection of past benefits;" but, like true Italians, they frequently choose these occasions for moralizing, and convert an advertisement into a political lesson. One of the companies began their play-bill thus: "When Europe was divided into factions."

The favours of the audience are divided between the actors, the author, and the scene-painter, each of whom is now and then called for at the end of the play. On one occasion, an ape, who had it is true been the principal personage in the drama, was obliged to appear, and received the applause of the spectators. My valet de place, who was standing behind me at the time, seemed ashamed of his fellow-countrymen, and exclaimed, "Oh, Popolo!"

The Olimpic Theatre, which no pains were taken to preserve when we saw it, is hidden in an obscure lane. The façade of Palladio's own house may be easily overlooked near the Verona gate; and the famous Rotunda, before mentioned, of Count Capra, has a little pot-herb garden before one of the fronts, and is flanked by dead

walls, balustraded, as it were, with dirty statues. The Palladian Triumphal Arch is preserved with somewhat more care, as it bestrides the base of the long flight of steps leading to the Madonna of Monte Berico. Yet Palladio is more frequently in the mouth of the Vicentine guide than any other native; and even at Padua he divides the palm with Livy.

To neglect the objects, and even the men, of whom they are proud, has long been one of the vices of the Italians, although much has been said of the splendid patronage of early times. The governments of the peninsula have seldom shown much anxiety to save either the one or the other from premature decay; and few individuals have had both the will and the means to become patrons of living artists or guardians of their masterpieces. The latter, like many good books that are more often praised than read, are generally left to the care of a hireling, who farms them as a show, and who, to secure his daily subsistence, only provides that they shall last his time, and not fall to pieces before his eyes. If Palladio in his lifetime received no more substantial encouragement than another great Vicentine artist, he was as much neglected as some of his works. Sansovino was proto-architect to the empire of St. Mark, and his pay was just nine Venetian lire a-week.*

* From the *Pisani Papers.*

THE SETTE COMMUNI.

A friend of mine, whom I met on the road from Vicenza to Padua, endeavoured to induce me to turn back with him and visit the "Sette Communi," a mountainous district of the Vicentine territory, inhabited by certain Cimbrians, who talk something like German—indeed, a very polite Teutonic dialect, if credit is to be given to a Danish sovereign, who was delighted with his reception by them. But these Cimbrians and this king of Denmark have fallen into abler hands, and Mr. Stewart Rose has made good sport with his Majesty Frederick the Fourth and his Teutonic cousins,* and I do not much regret that I did not "seek out these savages in their huts and hired farms."

PADUA.

We entered Padua by a neglected gateway, in the midst of ruined houses. The walls were "a world too wide" for its shrunk population. Excepting Ferrara, it had an air of desolation and desertion more striking than that of any Italian city. Without going back to the old times, when the Atenorea Atheneæ sent 110,000 fighting men into the field, Padua was very flourishing when she was the head of an independent state. This was the case with most of the Italian cities so long as

* *Letter* XXIV. *from the North of Italy.*

they were governed by "detestable little tyrants of their own," under different denominations, whether princes, or lords of a council, or popular assemblies. The spoils of one of the last lords of Padua, at the arsenal of Venice, show what happiness might be expected under his rule—a spiked collar for his captives, and a padlock for his wife. Yet Padua long continued to be very populous. She had, in 1816, only 25,000 inhabitants.* The conversion of the tyrant's tower (Eccelino) into an observatory, has not saved either the city or the university from decay. The students of this most celebrated university have dwindled with the population. They were once 18,000; we found them 400; but the staff was kept up at its full complement—there were no less than fifty-four professors. A residence of three years is required for a law degree, and of seven for a medical graduate. The public examinations take place in June, when from 60 to 70 students take their degrees. On this occasion Padua is plastered with sonnets. A student, with whom we were acquainted, informed us that he attended three lectures in the forenoon of several days in the week—one on political economy, one on civil law, and a third on general polity or government. What use or application could be the result of the last lecture we did not ask him. The lec-

* In 1842 reckoned at 42,000 by *Murray's Handbook*. This authority states the students at a number fluctuating from 1500 to 2000. They must have increased greatly since our visit.

tures are not compulsory. We attended one on experimental philosophy in the Palladian Bo—the Academical Palace. The students clapped their hands at the conclusion of the lecture. We did not think the inner cortile, in itself a beautiful building, improved by the escutcheons of the former members of the university, which are hung round the walls and on the ceiling.

Our student showed me the tomb of Antenor, the Trojan founder of Padua, without the slightest indication of want of faith. The sarcophagus is Gothic all over. The sepulchral slab ascribed to the patron heathen saint of Padua does, in fact, belong to a freedman of Livy's fourth daughter; but tradition has given authenticity to the bust of the great historian; and one of the arms belonging to the skeleton discovered in 1413, and recognised as being the mortal remains of Titus Livius, was presented by the city to Alphonso IV. of Naples, at the suggestion of Panormita, the Venetian ambassador; so records an inscription over the tomb in the great public hall called the Palazzo della Razione, a noble structure. We asked who built it; our guide said "Livio."*

But Livy and Antenor are not the only boasts of Padua. Contiguous to the church of St. Giustina, round an oval cavity, the site of an ancient amphitheatre, are placed a series of freestone statues, many of

* See *Murray's Handbook* for a description of this hall, the work of Frate Giovanni.

them representing Paduans, from Livy downwards, all well known in their native territory, but many never heard of beyond the terra firma provinces of the Most Serene Republic. When Denina, in 1795, published his discourse, addressed to the Berlin Academy in 1793, in which he confined the merits of the Paduans to the probity of the men and the chastity of the women, "a sort of bonhommie, the effect of a fat soil and a heavy air," Cesarotti indignantly repelled the slander, and in a long letter to the Abate endeavoured to show that the wealth of his fellow citizens had not made them more stupid nor less valiant than their neighbours, and the poet produced a formidable list of Patavinian heroes, such as Giannino di Peragra, "riguardato come l'Achille di Padova," and Arquano Buzzacarino, "ancor più famoso," whom Denina had shamefully overlooked. The letter is found in the fourth volume of Cesarotti's collected works,* and is an amusing specimen of Italian provinciality: but, in truth, Denina was unjust—he had no right to forget that Davila was a Paduan.

If the students of this once famed university could be made restless by the images of their forefathers, they might, in the Prato della Valle, pass many hours of sleepless meditation on the many roads to human glory. But example is lost where imitation is dangerous; and even under the Venetian republic distinction could very seldom be gained, except by a Patrician. At this day the statues of the Prato would be scarcely noticed, were

* P. 349, edit. Milan.

not two of them the work of Canova. Eight years had elapsed between the first production of this great sculptor, the Basket of Fruit, on the Staircase of the Farsetti Palace, at Venice, and the statue of the Marchese Poleni (the correspondent of Newton), which adorns the Prato; and the interval had been employed on works, one of which, at least, gave promise of his future fame. Indeed, the Pisani Dædalus and Icarus, produced in 1779, had already received the applause of Rome. The Poleni was sculptured in 1780. Cicognara, in his funeral oration on Canova, calls it a juvenile work. It does not seem the work of the same hand that had, the year before, produced the Dædalus.

The surpassing excellence of Canova is not, perhaps, to be sought for in his representations of the real human figure. There he was surpassed by many who were infinitely inferior to him in the higher efforts of the art. When his originals reminded him of the nymph-like voluptuous forms which were congenial to his imagination, his portraits were masterpieces of elegance and beauty; and where his living subjects, as with Napoleon and his august mother, enabled him to copy the antique, he was eminently successful; but, with these exceptions, I know of no bust, and there are many of them, nor full-length figure, of this renowned artist, not even his Popes of the Vatican, in which he showed himself to be at the head of his profession in portraiture.* In this branch of

* Cicognara, indeed, extols the Rezzonico of St. Peter's as a perfect imitation of real nature; but the sleeping lion is generally preferred to the supplicating Pope.

sculpture he was occasionally below the ordinary run of artists. Witness his hideous Ferdinand, in the Studii at Naples; an unhappy subject, it is true, but something better might have been made even of this monstrous monarch.

The celebrated adopted saint of Padua (il Santo, as he is called) has maintained his worship in the great church,* where his chapel is rich in sculpture and in relics. Of the latter there are more than 700 in one case. His tongue and his hand-writing are kept apart, also the glass with which Anthony broke a stone, in proof of his miraculous power.

The great Benedictine establishment at the much admired Sta. Giustina, although it had lost the greater part of its wealth, still (in 1816) educated 300 young men for the priesthood. The library was still rich in first editions, and the librarian seemed well qualified for the care of such treasures. He dwelt with much delight on the detection of the surreptitious Pine's 'Horace,' and of the false Delphin 'Cicero,' both of them more fatally correct than the faulty originals. In the pseudo Horace, on a medal of Cæsar, the mistake "post est" was corrected to "potest," and in the Cicero's philosophical treatises, page 76 was followed by page 77, and not by page 78, as in the authentic copy. The librarian

* See the XXIst plate, representing San Antonio of Padua, in the ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF ITALY. The contiguous equestrian statue of Erasmo di Narni, the condottiere, by Donatello, is justly criticised by the *Handbook*, p. 312.

showed us an autograph letter from Petrarch to Dondi, in which the poet seems to have been singularly precise, not only in his style, but his hand-writing, which is elegant and accurate to the last degree. The margin contains a few corrections, for which he apologises in the opening sentence.

The great astronomical clock, which procured for Giacomo Dondi the correspondence of Petrarch, and gave him and his family a title, was removed from Padua to Bologna, and from Bologna to Madrid, but it has been restored to the tower in the Piazza de' Signori.

The Dondi family has produced merit of almost every description. Lucrezia Dondi dell' Orologio, wife of Piero Enea degli Obizzi, more than rivalled the fame of her Roman namesake, for she saved her chastity, though she lost her life. Cesarotti asks Denina whether there is not something more than "bonhommie" in this.*

* The reader may not dislike to see a specimen of Cesarotti's Patavinity. The Abate Conti, a personage with whom the English literati of the early part of the last century were well acquainted, but whose renown has not been increased by time, is described by Cesarotti in the following terms:—"Quest' uomo poteva dirsi archivista, segretario e ministro dell' Enciclopedia, nato ad aprir un commercio libro fra le provincie le più disparate dello scibile, a illuminarle l' una per l' altra, e a formarne uno solo stato, animandolo del medesimo spirito. Fisico, matematico, metafisico, leterato nel senso più ampio e legittimo egli possedea le viste del Verulamio, la erudizione ragionata di Bayle, la sottiglieza e profondità di Lebnizzio, la scienza di Newton, il genio e la fantasia di Platone."—(*Cesarotti, Lett. all' Ab. Denina, Op.*, vol. iv. p. 400, edit. Milan.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE BANKS OF THE BRENTA—VENICE.

THE river looks like a canal between high banks, and is not easily distinguished from one or two artificial streams, equally large, that intersect the Paduan flats. Innumerable villas, and now and then a gondola, announce the approach to the capital. A little beyond the post town of Dolo, the road, a noble work of the French government,* leaves the banks of the river, and leads to Mestre, the principal port on the Great Lagune. Here, late in a November evening (in 1816), we got into a large gondola, and pushed off for Venice. We had just light enough to see on our left the fortifications raised by Napoleon, and having delivered up our passports at a guard house, and after being stopped by a Custom House boat, we rowed on between low embankments, and long lines of stakes, for nearly an hour and a half, until we found ourselves amongst the lights which we had, for some time, seen at a distance; and, through the loopholes of our black cabin, we discerned

* I traversed, in 1845, this tract by the railroad, which has rendered this work useless—I mean the road, and perhaps might add the description of it.

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that we were gliding under lofty buildings, by the side of long quays. The echoes of our oars told us we were under a bridge, and one of our boatmen exclaimed "THE RIALTO!" We soon landed. Our hotel was a palace in decay (Mr. Simond has given a plan of it), with a magnificent marble staircase, a vast saloon, and numerous apartments, of faded frescoes, dusky gilding, and silk hangings in tatters. Similar symptoms of the recent ruin of this extraordinary state were, as we afterwards found, to be seen in every quarter of the city.

The pictures of Venice which represent the Piazzetta or any of the great quays do not convey a correct idea of the details or even of the general appearance of this singular city. I found myself mistaken in supposing there were footways on the sides of all the canals. You may, from the back of most houses, and sometimes from the front, step from the hall door into your boat at once, and may row through the city almost the whole day without suspecting there are any streets in it; or you may wander through innumerable lanes and narrow alleys like the courts of communication between some of our great London thoroughfares, without coming upon a single canal or seeing the water once. The view from the great belfry does not show any of the water streets, for so they may be called—they are not canals.

The arcaded square of St. Mark, and the mosque-like cathedral, and the palace of the Doge, and the tall belfry, and the long red flag staffs stripped of the ensigns of the three tributary kingdoms, the Athenian

columns, and the Quay of the Piazzetta—these are known by a thousand pictures, which render them almost as familiar to our imagination as to a native resident. But no pencil can paint the scene, which I have so often beheld from the shores of the Lido, when the sun pours his last rays upon innumerable domes, and palaces, and towers, floating, as it were, on the bosom of the water, and long after he has sunk behind the cupola of St. George, leaves his cold purple light upon the distant snow-alps and far seen promontories of Istria.

VENICE.

I remained in Venice from November to December, 1816, rejoined Lord Byron at his villa of La Mira on the banks of the Brenta in July, 1817, and thence, after some weeks, removed to Venice, where I remained until February, 1818.

I revisited Venice in 1826 and 1845, and I subjoin some notices either collected during those visits, or suggested by references to authors who have treated of the same subject.

THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS.—THE POZZI.*

The communication between the Ducal palace and the prisons of Venice is by a gloomy bridge, or covered

* Of this my account of the prisons, the contributor to Murray's 'Handbook of Northern Italy' is pleased to say that the Pozzi "correspond with the well-known and accurate description given by Lord Byron." The great poet did not write any of the notes to the 4th canto of Childe Harold, except three or four short ones.

gallery, high above the water, and divided by a stone wall into a passage and a cell. The state dungeons, called "Pozzi," or wells, were sunk in the thick walls of the palace; and the prisoner when taken out to die was conducted across the gallery to the other side, and being then led back into the other compartment, or cell, upon the bridge, was there strangled. The low portal through which the criminal was taken into this cell is now walled up; but the passage is still open, and is still known by the name of the Bridge of Sighs. The Pozzi are under the flooring of the chamber at the foot of the bridge. They were formerly twelve, but on the first arrival of the French, the Venetians hastily blocked or broke up the deeper of these dungeons. You may still, however, descend by a trap-door, and crawl down through holes, half choked by rubbish, to the depth of two stories below the first range. If you are in want of consolation for the extinction of patrician power, perhaps you may find it there; scarcely a ray of light glimmers into the narrow gallery which leads to the cells, and the places of confinement themselves are totally dark. A small hole in the wall admitted the damp air of the passages, and served for the introduction of the prisoner's food. A wooden pallet, raised a foot from the ground, was the only furniture. The conductors tell you that a light was not allowed. The cells are about five paces in length, two and a half in width, and seven feet in height. They are directly beneath one another, and respiration is somewhat difficult in the lower holes. Only one

prisoner was found when the republicans descended into these hideous recesses, and he is said to have been confined sixteen years.* But the inmates of the dungeons beneath had left traces of their repentance, or of their despair, which are still visible, and may perhaps owe something to recent ingenuity. Some of the detained appear to have offended against, and others to have belonged to, the sacred body, not only from their signatures, but from the churches and belfries which they have scratched upon the walls. The reader may not object to see a specimen of the records prompted by so terrific a solitude. As nearly as they could be copied by more than one pencil, three of them are as follows:—

1.

NON TI FIDAR AD ALCUNO PENSA e TACI
SE FUGIR VUOI DE SPIONI INSIDIE e LACCI
IL PENTIRTI PENTIRTI NULLA GIOVA
MA BEN DI VALOR TUO LA VERA PROVA

1607. ADI 2. GENARO. FUI RETENTO P' LA BESTIEMMA P' AVER DATO DA MANZAR A UN MORTO
IACOMO . GRITTI. SCRISSE.

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* He was a murderer. Mr. Simond, who was in Italy in 1817, but whose book was published only in 1828, tells a strange story of this man's liberation. He was alarmed, and, it seems, angry at his removal; was caressed by the French; paraded through the city; but endured his painful freedom only four days, for he then died of fresh air. This is very like the story told in Goldsmith's Essays. (1858.)

2.

UN PARLAR POCHO et
NEGARE PRONTO et
UN PENSAR AL FINE PUO DARE LA VITA
A NOI ALTRI MESCHINI

1605

EGO IOHN BAPTISTA AP
ECCLESIAM CORTELLARIUS.

3.

DE CHI MI FIDO GUARDAMI DIO
DE CHI NON MI FIDO MI GUARDARO IO.
▲ la Sta Ch. Ka. Rna.
▼

The copyist has followed, not corrected, the original letters, which were evidently scratched in the dark. I presume that *Bestemmia* and *Mangiar* may be read in the first inscription, which was probably written by some prisoner confined for an act of impiety at a funeral. Cortellarius is the name of a parish on the Terra Firma, and the last initials are evidently put for Viva la Santa Chiesa Kattolica Romana.

In a book called 'Medicina Forense,' of which an edition was published in 1801, I saw *Rules for Torturing*, which it would be supposed were put into practice up to the last days of the Republic. On inquiry, however, I found that torture had been discontinued for thirty years before that period. The monstrous codes of the Inquisitors of State, an organized system of social treachery and murder, which Daru first made public, had become a dead letter long before the downfall of Venice. It would be a libel on human nature to believe

that this famous Republic owed its long life to the observance of these maxims of blood—yet Paul Sarpi was evidently of that opinion.

THE GONDOLIER'S SONG.

The well known song of the gondoliers, of alternate stanzas, from Tasso's 'Jerusalem,' has died with the independence of Venice. Editions of the poem, with the original on one column and the Venetian variations on the other, as sung by the boatmen, were once common, and are still to be found. The following extract will serve to show the difference between the Tuscan epic and the 'Canta alla Barcariola.'

Original.

" Canto l' arme pietose, e 'l capitano
Che 'l gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo.
Molto egli oprò col senno, e con la mano
Molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto;
E in van l' Inferno a lui s' oppose, e in vano
S' armo d' Asia, e di Libia il popol misto,
Che il Ciel gli diè favore, e sotto a i Santi
Segni ridusse i suoi compagni erranti."

Venetian.

" L' arme pietose de cantar gho vogia,
E de Goffredo la immortal braura
Che al fin l' ha libera co strassia, e dogia
Del nostro buon Gesú la Sepoltura
De mezo mondo unito, e de quel Bogia
Missier Pluton no l' ha bu mai paura:
Dio l' ha agiutá, e i compagni sparpagnai
Tutti 'l gh' i ha messi insieme i di del Dai."

Some of the elder gondoliers will, however, take up and continue a stanza of their once familiar bard.

On the 7th of January, 1817, Lord Byron and I rowed to the Lido with two singers, one of whom was a carpenter, and the other a gondolier. The former placed himself at the prow, the latter at the stern of the boat. A little after leaving the quay of the Piazzetta, they began to sing, and continued their song until we arrived at the island. They gave us, amongst other essays, the Death of Clorinda, and the Palace of Armida; and did not sing the Venetian, but the Tuscan verses. The carpenter, however, who was the cleverer of the two, and was frequently obliged to prompt his companion, told us that he could *translate* the original. He added, that he could sing almost three hundred stanzas, but had not spirits (*morbin* was the word he used) to learn any more, or to sing what he already knew: a man must have idle time on his hands to acquire, or to repeat, and, said the poor fellow, "look at my clothes and at me—I am starving." This speech was more affecting than his performance, which habit alone can make attractive. The recitative was shrill, screaming, and monotonous, and the gondolier behind assisted his voice by holding his hand to one side of his mouth. The carpenter used a quiet action, which he evidently endeavoured to restrain; but was too much interested in his subject altogether to repress. From these men we learned that singing is not confined to the gondoliers, and that, although the chant is seldom, if ever, volun-

tary, there are still several amongst the lower classes who are acquainted with a few stanzas.

It does not appear that it is usual for the performers to row and sing at the same time. Although the verses of the 'Jerusalem' are no longer casually heard, there is yet much music upon the Venetian canals; and on holidays, those strangers who are not near or informed enough to distinguish the words, may fancy that many of the gondolas still resound with the strains of Tasso.

THE LION AND HORSES OF ST. MARK.

The lion has lost nothing by his journey to the Invalides, except the gospel which supported the paw that is now on a level with the other foot. The horses also, after no more serious accident than the breaking of a leg, are returned to the ill-chosen spot whence they set out, and are, as before, half hidden under the porch window of St. Mark's church.

Their history, after a desperate struggle, has been satisfactorily explored. The decisions and doubts of Erizzo and Zanetti, and lastly, of the Count Leopold Cicognara, would have given them a Roman extraction, and a pedigree not more ancient than the reign of Nero. But M. de Schlegel stepped in to teach the Venetians the value of their own treasures, and a Greek vindicated, at last and for ever, the pretension of his countrymen to this noble production.* Mr. Mustoxidi has not been left

* Sui quattro cavalli della Basilica di S. Marco in Venezia. Lettera di Andrea Mustoxidi Corcirese. Padua, per Bettoni e com-

without a reply; but, as yet, he has received no answer. It should seem that the horses are irrevocably Chian, and were transferred to Constantinople by Theodosius.* Lapidary writing is a favourite play of the Italians, and has conferred reputation on more than one of their literary characters. One of the best specimens of Bodoni's typography is a respectable volume of inscriptions, all written by his friend Pacciaudi. Several were prepared for the recovered horses. It is to be hoped the best was not selected, when the following words were ranged in gold letters above the cathedral porch.†

"QUATUOR . EQUORUM . SIGNA . A . VENETIS . BYZANTIO . CAPTA . AD . TEMP . D . MAR . A . R . S. MCCIV . POSITA . QUÆ . HOSTILIS . CUPIDITAS . A . MDCCIIIC . ABSTULERAT . FRANC . I . IMP . PACIS . ORBI . DATÆ . TROPHÆUM . A . MDCCCXV . VICTOR . REDUXIT."

Nothing shall be said of the Latin, but it may be permitted to observe, that the injustice of the Venetians in transporting the horses from Constantinople was at least equal to that of the French in carrying them to Paris, and that it would have been more prudent to have avoided all allusions to either robbery. An apostolic

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pag. . . . 1816. I am surprised that so well-informed a writer as the contributor of the article on Venice to Murray's 'Handbook' should still adhere to the hypothesis of Cicognara.

* Mr. Mustoxidi told me that he owed his discovery to a hint in Ducange's 'Glossary.'

† Canova endeavoured to persuade the Emperor to choose another site for the horses, but his Imperial Majesty, after eight days' consideration, and a visit to the belfry of St. Mark, decided upon restoring them to the porch, saying there was something in "an old position."

prince should, perhaps, have objected to affixing over the principal entrance of a metropolitan church an inscription having a reference to any other triumphs than those of religion. Nothing less than the pacification of the world can excuse such a solecism.

We find from the following narrative that these horses were, in early times, the emblem, as it were, and the token of Venetian pride:—

After the loss of the battle of Pola, and the taking of Chioza on the 16th of August, 1379, by the united armament of the Genoese and Francesco da Carrara, Signor of Padua, the Venetians were reduced to the utmost despair. An embassy was sent to the conquerors with a blank sheet of paper, praying them to prescribe what terms they pleased, and leave to Venice only her independence. The Prince of Padua was inclined to listen to these proposals, but the Genoese, who, after the victory at Pola, had shouted, "to Venice, to Venice, and long live St. George!" determined to annihilate their rival, and Peter Doria, their commander-in-chief, returned this answer to the suppliants: "On God's faith, gentlemen of Venice, ye shall have no peace from the Signor of Padua, nor from our commune of Genoa, until we have first put a rein upon those unbridled horses of yours, that are upon the porch of your evangelist St. Mark. Wild as we may find them, we will soon make them stand still. And this is the pleasure of us and of our commune. As for these my brothers of Genoa, that you have brought

with you to give up to us, I will not have them: take them back; for, in a few days hence, I shall come and let them out of prison myself, both these and all the others."* In fact the Genoese did advance as far as Malamocco, within five miles of the capital; but their own danger and the pride of their enemies gave courage to the Venetians, who made prodigious efforts, and many individual sacrifices, all of them carefully recorded by their historians. Vettor Pisani was put at the head of thirty-four galleys. The Genoese broke up from Malamocco, and retired to Chioza in October; but they again threatened Venice, which was reduced to extremities. At this time, the 1st of January, 1380, arrived Carlo Zeno, who had been cruising on the Genoese coast with fourteen galleys. The Venetians were now strong enough to besiege the Genoese. Doria was killed on the 22nd of January by a stone bullet 195 pounds weight, discharged from a bombard called the Trevisan. Chioza was then closely invested: 5000 auxiliaries, amongst whom were some English Condottieri, commanded by one Captain Ceccho, joined the

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* "Alla fè di Dio, Signori Veneziani, non havarete mai pace dal Signore di Padoua, nè dal nostro commune di Genova, se primieramente non mettemo le briglie a quelli vostri cavalli sfrenati, che sono su la Reza del Vostro Evangelista S. Marco. Imbrenati che gli havremo, vi faremo stare in buona pace. E questa e la intenzione nostra, e del nostro commune. Questi miei fratelli Genovesi che havete menati con voi per donarci, non li voglio; rimanetegli in dietro perche io intendo da qui a pochi giorni venirgli a riscuotei dalle vostre prigioni, e loro e gli altri."

Venetians. The Genoese, in their turn, prayed for conditions, but none were granted, until, at last, they surrendered at discretion; and, on the 24th of June, 1380, the Doge Contarini made his triumphal entry into Chioza. Four thousand prisoners, nineteen galleys, many smaller vessels and barks, with all the ammunition and arms, and outfit of the expedition, fell into the hands of the conquerors, who, had it not been for the inexorable answer of Doria, would have gladly reduced their own dominion to the city of Venice. An account of these transactions is found in a work called the 'War of Chioza,' written by Daniel Chinazzo, who was in Venice at the time.*

THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AND POPE ALEXANDER.

The porch of St. Mark's church, surmounted by the horses, was the scene of the most extraordinary perhaps of all the events which have illustrated the early periods of Venetian history.

After many vain efforts on the part of the Italians entirely to throw off the yoke of Frederic Barbarossa, and as fruitless attempts of the Emperor to make himself absolute master throughout the whole of his Cisalpine dominions, the bloody struggles of four and twenty years were happily brought to a close in the city of

* Chronaca della guerra di Chioza, &c.—*Scrip. Rer. Ital.* tom. xv. pp. 699 to 804.

Venice. The articles of a treaty had been previously agreed upon between Pope Alexander III. and Barbarossa, and the former having received a safe-conduct, had already arrived at Venice from Ferrara, in company with the ambassadors of the King of Sicily and the Consuls of the Lombard league. There still remained, however, many points to adjust, and for several days the peace was believed to be impracticable. At this juncture it was suddenly reported that the Emperor had arrived at Chioza, a town fifteen miles from the capital. The Venetians rose tumultuously, and insisted upon immediately conducting him to the city. The Lombards took the alarm, and departed towards Treviso. The Pope himself was apprehensive of some disaster if Frederic should suddenly advance upon him, but was reassured by the prudence and address of Sebastian Ziani, the doge. Several embassies passed between Chioza and the capital, until, at last, the Emperor, relaxing somewhat of his pretensions, "laid aside his leonine ferocity, and put on the mildness of the lamb."*

On Saturday the 23rd of July, in the year 1177, six Venetian galleys transferred Frederic, in great pomp, from Chioza to the island of Lido, a mile from Venice. Early the next morning the Pope, accompanied by the Sicilian ambassadors, and by the envoys of Lombardy,

* "Quibus auditis, imperator, operante eo, qui corda principum sicut vult et quando vult humiliter inclinat, leonina feritate deposita, ovinam mansuetudinem induit." — *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon, apud Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 229.

whom he had recalled from the main land, together with a great concourse of people, repaired from the patriarchal palace to St. Mark's church, and solemnly absolved the Emperor and his partisans from the excommunication pronounced against him. The Chancellor of the Empire, on the part of his master, renounced the antipopes and their schismatic adherents. Immediately the Doge, with a great suite both of the clergy and laity, got on board the galleys, and waiting on Frederic, rowed him in mighty state from the Lido to the capital. The Emperor descended from the galley at the quay of the Piazzetta. The Doge, the patriarch, his bishops and clergy, and the people of Venice with their crosses and their standards, marched in solemn procession before him to the church of St. Mark's. Alexander was seated before the vestibule of the basilica, attended by his bishops and cardinals, by the patriarch of Aquileja, by the archbishops and bishops of Lombardy, all of them in state, and clothed in their church robes. Frederic approached—"moved by the Holy Spirit, venerating the Almighty in the person of Alexander, laying aside his imperial dignity, and throwing off his mantle, he prostrated himself at full length at the feet of the Pope. Alexander, with tears in his eyes, raised him benignantly from the ground, kissed him, blessed him; and immediately the Germans of the train sang, with a loud voice, 'We praise thee, O Lord.' The Emperor then taking the Pope by the right hand, led him to the church, and having received his benediction, re-

turned to the ducal palace."* The ceremony of humiliation was repeated the next day. The Pope himself, at the request of Frederic, said mass at St. Mark's. The Emperor again laid aside his imperial mantle, and, taking a wand in his hand, officiated as *verger*, driving the laity from the choir, and preceding the pontiff to the altar. Alexander, after reciting the gospel, preached to the people. The Emperor put himself close to the pulpit in the attitude of listening; and the pontiff, touched by this mark of his attention, for he knew that Frederic did not understand a word he said, commanded the patriarch of Aquileja to translate the Latin discourse into the German tongue. The creed was then chanted. Frederic made his oblation and kissed the Pope's feet, and, mass being over, led him by the hand to his white horse. He held the stirrup, and would have led the horse's rein to the water side, had not the Pope accepted of the inclination for the performance, and affectionately dismissed him with his benediction. Such is the substance of the account left by the archbishop of Salerno, who was present at the ceremony, and whose story is confirmed by every subsequent narration. It would not be worth so minute a record, were it not the triumph of liberty as well as of superstition. The states of Lombardy owed to it the confirmation of their privileges; and Alexander had reason to thank the Almighty, who had enabled an infirm old man to subdue a terrible and potent sovereign.

* *Chronicon, etc.*, tom. vii. p. 231.

DANDOLO.

From the trophies of the East which enrich through all its details the church of St. Mark's, we turn our reflections towards the hero whose name is identified with our earliest impressions of Venetian glory. Henry Dandolo, when elected doge in 1192, was eighty-five years of age. When he commanded the Venetians at the taking of Constantinople, he was, consequently, ninety-seven years old. At this age he annexed the fourth and a half of the whole empire of Romania,* for so the Roman empire was then called, to the title and territories of the Venetian Doge; the three-eighths of this empire were preserved in the diplomas until the dogeship of Giovanni Dolfino, who made use of the above designation in the year 1357.

Dandolo led the attack on Constantinople in person: two ships, the "Paradise" and the "Pilgrim," were tied together, and a drawbridge or ladder let down from their higher yards to the walls. The doge was one of the first

* Gibbon has omitted the important æ, and has written Romani instead of Romaniæ.—(*Decline and Fall*, cap. lxi. note 9.) But the title acquired by Dandolo runs thus, in the Chronicle of his namesake the Doge Andrew Dandolo:—"Ducali Titulo addidit—Quartæ partis et Dimidiæ totius Imperii Romaniæ" (*And. Dan. Chron.* cap. iii. pars xxxvii.; ap. *Scrip. Rer. Ital.* tom. xii. p. 331); and the Romaniæ is observed in the subsequent acts of the Doge. Indeed, the continental possessions of the Greek empire in Europe were then generally known by the name of Romania, and that appellation is still seen in the maps of Turkey as applied to Thrace.

to rush into the city. Then was completed, said the Venetians, the prophecy of the Erythræan sibyl:—"A gathering together of the powerful shall be made amidst the waves of the Adriatic, under a blind leader; they shall beset the goat—they shall profane Byzantium—they shall blacken her buildings—her spoils shall be dispersed; a new goat shall bleat until they have measured out and run over fifty-four feet, nine inches, and a half." *

Dandolo died on the first day of June, 1205, having reigned thirteen years, six months, and five days, and was buried in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Strangely enough it sounds that the name of the rebel apothecary who received the doge's sword, and played so conspicuous a part in the downfall of the ancient government in 1796-7, was Dandolo.

DECAY OF VENICE.

That a deliberate project should have been formed to hasten the ruin of such a city as Venice seems scarcely credible; but it was almost universally believed, in 1817, by the Venetians themselves, and some hints were given to us that means more speedy than mere neglect were

* "Fiet potentium in aquis Adriaticis congregatio, cæco præduce. Hircum ambigent. Byzantium prophanabant, ædificia denigrabunt. Spolia dispergentur. Hircus novus balabit usque dum liv. pedes et ix. pollices et semis præmensurati discurrant."—*Chronicon*, ibid. pars xxxiv.

to be employed for this purpose. Two ships had been burnt in the arsenal; the great Cornaro Palace had been destroyed by fire; stores almost inflammable had been deposited in many government buildings; and it was remarked that when these fires took place, no effort was made to extinguish them—a neglect which, however, was accounted for by asserting that the Germans thought salt water inflammable,—and this they inferred from the Government having sunk a well in the island of St. George, an artificial bank of mud and stones.*

Even after Venice had lost her independence, her commerce, if encouraged, might have served to prolong her existence; and a generous policy might have kept alive that spirit of enterprise which is sometimes to be found amongst the subjects of an enlightened despotism. But Trieste exhausted all the commercial genius of the Austrian cabinet. There was not enough and to spare for another great maritime possession; and the wise alternative seemed to be the immediate supply of the Austrian treasury by the impoverishment of the Venetian states. The old revenue of all these provinces, including the capital, was stated to be about 26,000,000 of francs. Austria, in 1822, drew twelve millions from Venice alone, and at the same time laid a heavy impost upon every article produced, even on the neighbouring terra firma. The commonest wines of Padua paid eighteen

* See *Letters from the North of Italy.*

francs a-barrel. The taxation under the French was equally high; but the commercial regulations were so different, that there was more trade during the blockade by the English ships-of-war than afterwards, under that of the Custom-house officers. With less means for purchasing the most essential articles of life, the Venetians then paid, in many instances, more than double for those necessaries; and even oil had risen one-half in price. The produce of the taxes in the time of the French was in great part expended in the city or in the state: four thousand workmen were employed in the arsenal alone. The number employed in that establishment in 1817 was one thousand, and in 1822 only two hundred and fifty. All the good money received as taxes was sent to Vienna, the salaries and wages of workmen employed by government were paid in base Austrian coin.

The population of Venice at the end of the seventeenth century amounted to nearly two hundred thousand souls; in 1788 it had declined to one hundred and fifty thousand. At the census taken in 1815 it was no more than about one hundred and three thousand, and it was diminishing daily. The commerce and the official employments, which were to be the unexhausted source of Venetian grandeur, had both expired.* The Celsi, the Cornari,

* "Nonnullorum è nobilitate immensæ sunt opes, adeo ut vix æstimari possint: id quod tribus è rebus oritur, parsimonia, commercio, atque iis emolumentis, quæ è Repub. percipiunt, quæ hanc ob causam diuturna fore creditur."—See *de Principatibus Italiæ, Tractatus*. edit. 1631.

the Marcelli, undoubted children of the Marii, the Cornelii, the Marcelli of Rome, were but vain names.* Most of the patrician mansions were deserted, and would have gradually disappeared, had not the government, alarmed by the demolition of seventy-two during the last two years, expressly forbidden this sad resource of poverty. Many remnants of the Venetian nobility were scattered and confounded with the wealthier Jews upon the banks of the Brenta. Their Palladian palaces had sunk, or were sinking, in the general decay. Of the descendants of the families contemporary with the electors of the first doge I heard only of one, and he enjoyed a ridiculous celebrity.† Of the "gentil uomo Veneto" the name was still known, and that was all. He was but the shadow of his former self, but he was polite and kind. It surely may be pardoned to him if he was querulous. Whatever may have been the vices of the republic, and although the natural term of its existence may be thought by foreigners to have arrived in the due course of mortality, only one sentiment can be expected from the Venetians themselves. At no time were the subjects of the republic so unanimous in their resolution to rally round the standard of St. Mark as when it was for the last time unfurled;

* "Celsi; dagli antichi Mari di Roma; . . . . Cornaro; dagli antichi Corneli di Roma;—Marcelli, pare che non si possa mettere in dubbio che questa famiglia discenda dagli antichi Marcelli di Roma." —See *Dizionario storico di tutte le Venete Patrizie Famiglie.*

† Gradenigo, a respectable gentleman, suffered more than the other patricians from the French, who could not resist playing on a name unhappily obnoxious to a pun.

and the cowardice and the treachery of the few patricians who recommended the fatal neutrality were confined to the persons of the traitors themselves. A Venetian remarked to me, with evident delight, that only two of these traitors had escaped an end of ignominy or wretchedness. The present race cannot be thought to regret the loss of their aristocratical forms, and too despotic government; they think only on their vanished independence. They pine away at the remembrance, and on this subject suspend for a moment their gay good humour. Venice may be said, in the words of the Scripture, "to die daily;" and so general and so apparent is the decline, as to become painful to a stranger, not reconciled to the sight of a whole nation expiring as it were before his eyes. So artificial a creation having lost that principle which called it into life and supported its existence, must fall to pieces at once, and sink more rapidly than it rose. The abhorrence of slavery which drove the Venetians to the sea, has, since their disaster, forced them to the land, where they may be at least overlooked amongst the crowd of dependants, and not present the humiliating spectacle of a whole nation loaded with recent chains. Their liveliness,* their affability, and that happy indifference which constitution alone can give, for philosophy aspires to it in vain, have

* A worthy friend of mine, Count Rizzo Patarol, endeavoured to console himself for the downfall of the republic by saying that Venice had never been anything since the days of Charles V.

not sunk under circumstances; but many peculiarities of costume and manner have by degrees been lost, and the nobles, with a pride common to all Italians who have been masters, have not been persuaded to parade their insignificance. That splendour which was a proof and a portion of their power, they would not degrade into the trappings of their subjection. They retired from the space which they had occupied in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, their continuance in which would have been a symptom of acquiescence, and an insult to those who suffered by the common misfortune. Those who remained in the degraded capital might be said rather to haunt the scenes of their departed power, than to live in them. No one can blame them for that air of sullen subjection which marks their intercourse with their Austrian lords; for to those who have but lately lost their independence, any masters must be an object of detestation; and it may be safely foretold that this unprofitable aversion will not have been corrected before Venice shall have sunk into the slime of her choked canals.*

Many complaints have been made against Venetian society, even under the old government; but there was, at least, a choice of company; and in no Italian capital did the stranger find more "conversazioni," "casinos," and "academie," than at Venice. At my first visit these had almost disappeared; only two or three houses were

* Written in 1817.

open to respectable recommendations; and at my last visit, only one. The coffee-houses and the arcades of St. Mark's Square were, indeed, at certain hours, crowded by noisy idlers, belonging to that inferior class of Italians whose last shilling, and whose last laugh, are invariably wasted upon bad company, away from home. Formerly the places of public resort were open all night, especially during the carnival: the amusements still begin late, but end long before the morning. This change may be called a reform, and those who recollect the old times will occasionally confess that the morals of Venice have been improved by her misfortunes. If nations or individuals were ever made wiser by example, it would be advisable to say something of that corruption and dissoluteness of manners, that feebleness of public and private character which had long marked the decline, and may by some, besides the conquerors, be thought to justify the ruin, of the republic. Bonaparte, who had promised them independence and glory, had already found the population "so stupid, so cowardly, so little made for liberty," that it appeared to him "quite natural" to leave them to those to whom the French gave the continent. But had the Venetians been the most ingenious, the bravest, the most patriotic of communities, though they might not have suffered themselves to be tricked out of their independence, nor have yielded to a paltry army of six thousand men, it is to be doubted whether they could have saved themselves in the shock of empires which crushed so many states far more powerful

than they were, or ever had been. Even as it was, their subjection to Austria was owing, as usual in such events, to an accident, arising not altogether from their own misconduct.

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

During my several visits to Venice, I collected materials for a short account of the last days of the Republic, but Daru, although he has done little more than follow the details contained in the "Raccolta cronologica, ragionata di documenti inediti che formano la storia diplomatica della rivoluzione e caduta della Republica di Venezia," published in 1799, has rendered such an attempt superfluous. I do not think that portion of Botta's History which relates to this catastrophe the most valuable of his work. It is more impassioned, more highly coloured, more laboured, perhaps, than other parts of his History; but it is less impartial, less clear, less instructive. He has a hundred pages for the violence and perfidy of France; a single line suffices for the cupidity and injustice of Austria. The Venetians themselves, it is true, would attribute their fall to a deep laid perfidious project of the French Directory, carried into effect with equal treachery and injustice by their victorious general;* but the secret correspondence

* "Che non meno turpe e nefanda fu la condotta de' suoi generali in Italia, dediti a latrocinj e alle depredazione, sconoscenti ed isleali nel tempo, in cui il generale in capite fingeva d'essere grato ai Veneziani, e prometteva ad essi ingrandimento di dominio, e, a fine di

of Bonaparte and a more impartial observation of events enable us to arrive at the more probable conclusion, that the exigences of the moment, rather than any long-settled arrangement, decided the fate of the unhappy Republic.

Bonaparte would not, it is most probable, have proceeded to extremities with Venice, had he not received intelligence of the appointment of a rival general to the chief command in Germany, which induced him to hasten the treaty with the Emperor, that the glory and the conclusion of the war might be all his own. Venice was the victim of private jealousy. It was the fear of Hoche that made her the prey, not of the conqueror, but of the conquered;* otherwise she might have been spared for a season, and have recovered a precarious independence, which former experience might, perhaps,

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poter senza ostacolo preordinare le cose alla totale revoluzione e perdizione di medesima." Such is one of the corollaries deduced from the details put together in the *Raccolta Cronologica*.

* This anecdote, respecting the precipitate sacrifice of Venice, I had from a gentleman in the civil service of Bonaparte, employed by him during the transaction. The date of Bonaparte's promise to consolidate the liberties of Venice, and of his letter to the Directory in which he gave the above quoted character of the Venetians and signed their perpetual subjection, is the same day, *i. e.* the 26th of May, 1797, just eleven days after the occupation of Venice by Baraguay d'Hilliers.

His letter to the municipality of Venice (Montebello, May 26, 1797) has these words:—"Dans toutes les circonstances je ferai tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour vous donner des preuves du désir que j'ai de voir se consolider votre liberté, et de voir la misérable Italie se placer enfin, avec gloire, libre et indépendante des étrangers," &c.—*Correspondance*, &c.

have taught her not to resign without an honourable struggle.

From the preliminaries of peace between France and the Emperor, signed at Leoben, from the treaty with Venice herself, no suspicion of the cession to Austria could have been formed; nor was such a design at that moment, in all probability, entertained: on the contrary, the incorporation of the Venetian States with the new Republic of Lombardy, or the formation of a new Venetian republic, seems to have been contemplated by the regenerating conqueror of Italy.* Such a consummation would have been less disgraceful for France, but, perhaps, not much more acceptable to Venice than the Austrian yoke. Indeed, it appears that during the short-lived democracy, after the old government had been overthrown, on the fatal 12th of May, 1797, there were some politicians who preferred the latter as the least of all the evils that threatened the expiring Republic. Grimani at Vienna, and Querini at Paris, suspected and announced that Austria might be the future mistress of Venice; and one of the patriotic party, who

* See *Napoleon's Letters to the Directory*, dated 13th May, 1797, from Milan, and 19th May from Montebello. It would seem from some words in the above quoted corollary, "ingrandimento di dominio," promised by Bonaparte, that the Venetians hoped to gain something in the general scramble. The first of the secret articles (*Correspond. Ined.* i. p. 178), signed at Milan on the 16th of May by Bonaparte and Lallement and the Venetian deputies Doria, Justiniani, and Moncenigo, runs thus:—"La République Française et la République de Venise s'entendront entre elles pour l'échange des différens territoires."

had resigned himself to banishment in Switzerland, Pesaro, subsequently reappeared to perform the part of Imperial commissary, and receive the allegiance of his degraded fellow citizens. Villetard, writing to Bonaparte on the 30th June, when Venice had been more than a month occupied by French troops, uses these remarkable words: "Général, il ne faut vous rien déguiser—il existe des intrigues pour livrer ce pays à l'Empereur; des intrigans dans la municipalité qui conduisent cette trame, et des hommes faibles qui la favorisent sans s'en apercevoir." *

Villetard, although much abused by the Patrician party, appears to have been a sincere republican, and Botta gives him credit for complete ignorance of any ulterior views entertained—if they were then entertained—by Bonaparte, for the transfer of Venice to the Austrians.

The first disgraceful deed, the origin of all their subsequent disasters, was the work of Venetians, whether deceived by the French general or not matters little. Andrew Spada, the coadjutor of the druggist Zorzi, awoke the patrician ex-Proveditor Battaglia in the middle of the night, and showed him a letter from one Haller, a corn-broker at Milan, a confidant of Bonaparte, conveying the conqueror's wishes as to the dissolution of

* I extract from the *Correspondance de Napoleon*, &c., états de Venise, p. 417, from the very copy, in my possession, which Napoleon used at St. Helena when contemplating his own memoirs. It contains many pencil-notes in his own handwriting.

the old Venetian aristocracy, that is, the Republic. Battaglia, at daybreak, transmitted this letter to the Signoria. "Why," exclaims the indignant historian, "did they not throw this Spada into the canal, for violating one of the main laws of the state by corresponding with a foreign minister?" But their day was come; they were to fall by mean and ignoble hands, without the glory of a protracted struggle, or the happiness of a sudden death. A broker, an apothecary, and a petty French agent, without name, without authority, tricked the most potent, grave, and reverend signiors out of all their honours, and the power of a thousand years.*

"La position locale de cette ville lui offrait des ressources formidables; elle pouvait résister." The French general wrote thus to Bonaparte, when informing him of the "arrêt bizarre, par lequel il (the Grand Council) se démettait de son pouvoir." A thousand pieces of cannon, eight thousand sailors, fourteen thousand regular troops, and an ardent population, might have offered an honourable resistance to the victorious French; but terror and treachery did their work, and the Great Council on the day before mentioned, the 12th of May (1797), adopted the proposal of the agent

* By a strange coincidence their ancient rival, Genoa, had come to a like end. A foreigner, a druggist, and the bearer of a noble name, had played the most conspicuous part in the destruction of that aristocracy. Vitaliani, Morando, and Doria were the Haller, the Zorzi, and the Dandolo of Genoa.

of France, Villetard, and put an end to the ancient Republic. A few musket shots, fired under the windows of their palaces, whether by friends or enemies no one inquired, so much augmented their alarms, that the formalities of deliberation seemed too tedious and perilous, and without waiting for the result of a deputation sent to Bonaparte at Milan, they pronounced sentence on themselves, in a tumult of terror and despair. Of 537 Patricians only twelve, or, at most, twenty, voted against this abdication; and five, such are the resources of shame mingled with fear, remained neuter, and were silent spectators of the last agonies of their country. The Great Council informed their ambassadors, nobles, and residents at foreign courts, by a circular that records their disgrace, of their suicidal decree: "Dall' unito *Species Facti* rilevarete la determinazione presa dal Maggior Consiglio di adottare il proposto Provisorio Rappresentativo Governo, anche prima di conoscere il risultato delle negoziazioni de' suoi deputati presso il generale in capite Buonaparte."

The destruction of the state was consummated in the name and for the sake of religion; so the people were told in a proclamation issued by the municipality, now become a provisional government; but this time the people were not deceived by the common delusion. They rose in favour of those who had abandoned them; paraded their patron saint to the old cry of Viva San Marco! sacked several houses, and made an attempt at counter revolution, which was not put down without

bloodshed, nor was tranquillity thought to be thoroughly secured without the aid of French troops, who, however, did not, as Mr. Simond asserts (vol. i. p. 61), arrive in the daytime, in open boats, and unopposed; but having been privately sent for by Doria and Battaglia, came in the night, on board of Venetian vessels. They landed on the 16th of May, the same day that the treaty between the Venetian Republic and Bonaparte was signed at Milan. It is no wonder that, after the pusillanimous desertion of the Doge and the Patricians generally, the people should have beheld with indifference the burning of the Golden Book,* and the ducal ensigns, and the fraternizing feast of the French and those who invited them to Venice; nor is it surprising that they received their Austrian masters, subsequently, with symptoms of extravagant delight—it was the only mode left to them of showing their detestation of the recent revolution. Nevertheless, the deed itself, the transfer of Venice to Austria, was detestable. The first perfidy and duplicity which promised, as we have seen, independence to the Venetian municipality, and wrote by the same hand on the same day, "Venise à l'Empereur," are the exclusive

* The poet Arnault, writing from Venice to Bonaparte on the 5th of June (1797), says, of the *people* of Venice, "Il ne prend aucune part active à ce qui se passe ici. Il a vu tomber ses Lions sans donner aucune marque de joie, et dans un peuple aussi mou, cela n'équivaut-il pas à des marques de tristesse? L'appareil de la fête, la destruction des attributs de l'ancien gouvernement, la combustion du livre d'or, et des ornemens ducaux n'ont excité en lui aucune enthousiasme."

shame of Bonaparte,* but the blame of the subsequent transactions must be divided between the contracting parties, who, "more than once during their negotiations, appear to have forgotten their mutual hatred, in order to apply themselves to the laudable object of settling their own differences at the expense of others, chiefly the innocent and the weak. The exchange, or, rather, the abandonment of territories, was proposed without shame, and accepted without remorse. Provinces, to which neither party had the slightest claim, were demanded, and were offered without scruple. The discussions turned chiefly upon mere statistical details, and the French and Austrian plenipotentiaries never inquired what right they had to give, but only what it might be desirable to receive." †

The French government of the day were, it now appears, unwilling accomplices in the ruin of Venice. It will be seen in the appendix of Daru's History that the Directory struggled hard for the independence of Venice against the demands of Austria, and against their favourite general, who almost resigned his command in consequence. On the 29th of September (1797) they wrote to him that they would continue the war to save Venice from the Emperor. On the 10th of October

* Daru, *Pièces Justif. Hist.*, tome vii. p. 363.

† This is a free translation of Daru (*Histoire de Venise*, liv. 38, p. 428). I cannot join in the censure of Daru, which I find in the *Handbook*.

Bonaparte wrote to them, and informed them that on that very night Venice would be signed away to Austria;* that it was true she had 300 good patriots, but that a few hundred men were not to be saved at the expense of the 20,000 French whom the war would destroy; moreover, that the English people were well worth the Venetian people, and their *liberation* would consolidate for ever the liberties and happiness of France.† "Cependant," says Daru, "plusieurs voix s'élevèrent dans le corps législatif de France contre les mesures qui venoient d'effacer la République de Venise du rang des puissances Européennes. Il n'étoit plus temps: l'œuvre étoit consommé."‡

Between the 12th of May and the 18th of October the government was administered by an elected municipality of fifty persons, assisted by six French Commis-

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* *Daru, Hist. de Venise, Pièces Just.*, tome vii. p. 429.—"Il ne me reste plus," said Bonaparte to the Directory in this letter of 10th October, "qu'à rentrer dans la foule, reprendre le soc de Cincinnatus, et donner l'exemple du respect pour les magistrats et de l'aversion pour le service militaire," &c.

† *Daru, Hist. de Venise*, tome vii. p. 431. It seems that, even then, Bonaparte looked towards Egypt: in fact, he proposed an expedition to that country in a despatch to the Directory, dated the 13th of September of that year; and the Directory, in reply, owned that his ideas were grand. This annihilates the fine plot which Botta, in his History, affirms to have been laid in England to bribe and cajole the French Government into the Egyptian expedition, and, by so doing, deprive them of their best army and their best general, and embroil them at the same time with Turkey, the only power with whom they had not hitherto been at war.

‡ *Daru, Hist. de Venise*, liv. 38, p. 436.

saries; but their authority did not extend to the Venetian provinces of Terra Ferma, and, on the last-named day, Venice itself was handed over to the Austrians in virtue of the treaty of Campo Formio, in spite of the remonstrance of the municipality, which was answered by the cruel taunt of Bonaparte that "the Venetian people were little fitted for liberty; if they were capable of appreciating it, and had the virtue necessary for acquiring it, well and good: existing circumstances gave them an excellent opportunity of proving it: let them defend it."* On the same day that the French troops quitted Venice, the Austrians entered it amidst the frantic shouts of the populace, and the congratulations of the patrician party. "From that moment," says the French historian, "the latter vicissitudes of this state, which had lasted for fourteen centuries, belong to the history of another people;"† but not always the same people, for at the peace of Presburg, Venice, which had belonged to Austria since 1797, was made a portion of the kingdom of Italy, that is of France, and again in 1814 became the property of Austria, as part of the Regno Lombardo Veneto.

AUSTRIAN ADMINISTRATION IN VENICE.

Since the return of the Austrians in 1814 the political administration of Venice has been neither better nor

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* *Daru, Hist. de Venise*, liv. 38, p. 439. † Ib. p. 442.

worse than that of Milan; but a little before my visit, in 1822, the square of St. Mark had been the scene of a punishment inflicted on others than the guilty or than the subjects of Austria. The Marquis Cannonici of Ferrara, having some pecuniary affairs to arrange in the Venetian states, applied to the authorities for a passport, which was granted to him in due form. When taking leave of his friend the papal legate, that prelate dissuaded him from the journey; but the Marquis, stating that he was a subject of the Pope, and not conscious of being in any way obnoxious to the ruler of Lombardy, rejected the advice of his friend and crossed the Po. He was immediately seized, his papers were examined, and, although no charge was made against him, he underwent a temporary imprisonment. At his liberation, no imputation of improper designs and no threats of future punishment were conveyed to him, and he returned to Ferrara; but, some time afterwards, wishing to visit Verona, he again obtained a passport, and again crossed the Po. He observed, on setting foot on the Austrian side of the river, that a government messenger immediately started for Venice; but he continued his journey. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at Verona than the Commissary General of Police arrested him, together with a tradesman of the town, with whom he was transacting some business. Cannonici was transferred to the prisons of Murano, in the Lagune, and after having been detained there some time, he was brought into St. Mark's Square, and with thirty others exposed

there on a scaffold.* His sentence was then read to him: it was ten years of close imprisonment. He had never been tried, scarcely even interrogated. When taken from the scaffold his head was shaved and the jail dress put upon him; he was then ironed and thrown into a dungeon. He endeavoured to dash out his brains against the wall of the cell, but failing, was fettered more heavily and more carefully confined. The prison allowance of food, as he was in bad health, was unwholesome, and his family, who only by accident had heard of his distress, sent him some money to procure better subsistence. The money was taken from him and returned to them. His aged mother petitioned to be permitted to attend him. She was refused. Cardinal Consalvi claimed him as a subject of the Pope, but received for answer that the Marquis had been guilty of high treason against the Emperor of Austria, and his imprisonment was a mercy. At last a relation of the Marquis appealed to the Emperor in person, and received a consolatory reply; but the consequence was only a relaxation of severity. Cannonici was relieved from rigorous captivity, but was not released. How long he continued a prisoner I never heard.

In these days of alarm (1820-21) examples of vigi-

* The circumstance was mentioned to me in 1822, in presence of a young Count in the Austrian service, who, when the narrator told of the scaffold in St. Mark's Square, corrected him, saying "Pardonnez-moi; c'étoit une loge." Probably the Count had heard the story from a Venetian, and was not aware that, in Italian, "palco" serves both for a scaffold and a box at a theatre.

lance and severity were thought necessary. An Austrian colonel proposed to a young man to become a Carbonaro. The Italian refused, but shortly afterwards he was arrested, charged with the crime of non-revelation of treason, and condemned to three years' close imprisonment. His father, an author and a man of considerable talent, well known to the Austrian court, went to Vienna and implored the Emperor, in person, to remit the sentence. Francis told the father that his son would profit by a seclusion of three years; and then, turning to another subject, complimented the suppliant upon his capacity, and lamented that so much genius should be so little employed. "Alas," replied the father, "your Majesty can only mean to mock me: the genius you are pleased to attribute to me has been given to me in vain, if it cannot save my innocent child." In such times the watchfulness of fear discovers conspiracy in actions the most insignificant. A young man had written in the album at Arquà some verses to this effect:—"O Petrarch, thou who didst reprove the follies of our ancestors, how much less wretched would their descendants be if they were to follow thy counsels!" For this reflection the versifier underwent an imprisonment of three days, and a severe examination of several hours. The old lady who showed me Petrarch's house at Arquà in 1822, told me that the album had been taken away because some one had written "qualche sporcheria" in it. I had no notion, at that time, to what sort of filth she alluded.

I found, as I have before mentioned, at Venice, a

certain fond recollection of their old system, which was endeared to them rather by its loss than by its real value. They considered themselves as having been deprived of more than any other Italians by the disasters of revolution. They lost an independent sovereignty, a loss for which a Lombardo Venetian kingdom, whether under French or Austrian protection, or even as a state standing alone, with Milan for its capital, would, in their eyes, be no compensation. Indeed the alliance of Milan was never courted; subjection to her would not have been endured. One of the first remarks of a very influential person at Venice in reply to a question respecting Milanese society and literature was of this kind:—"We know very little of Milan or of her squabbles, literary or otherwise, *fortunately for us.*" Venice was the world of the Venetians. A friend, speaking to me of the old time, said, "You should have seen our carnival in those days; the square of St. Mark quite full; the coffee-houses all open all night; eight theatres in constant activity—a man of fashion roamed from one to another of them every evening; and then, to crown the whole, everything 'à si bon mercato.'" "Well, but your aristocracy?" "Oh, the gentil' uomo was a very inoffensive, gay man, kind to his inferiors; he never quarrelled except with a gentleman." "But your police was always very bad." "We did not want police—we were accustomed to do without them at Venice." "You had no good roads until the French made them for you." "We did not want roads; we never travelled farther than Brescia, and seldom so far; we had

canals." "But your government was, surely, as bad as possible?" "No, it was not; it was very good: moreover, 'non conviene embarrarsi del governo,'" he added, "it was one of Alberoni's projects to divide the Milanese States, and give one half to Venice, the other to Savoy; but it was only in these latter days of crime and injustice that it was imagined possible for any Italian city to become the metropolis of Venice."

The horror of innovation seems to have been the characteristic of the Venetian government, as well as of the people. In the statutes of the Inquisition, embodying the genius of the nation, we find it laid down:—"If an orator at the Great Council wander from his subject, let him be stopped at once by one of the Ten. If he contests that authority, suffer him to continue his harangue; but arrest him immediately afterwards, try him for his offence, and if he escapes from that trial, put him to death secretly."

So attached were the Venetians to old usages that up to the last their year began in March, and consisted of eleven months of thirty-three days.

Even in 1822 there were occasions on which it would have been difficult for a stranger to guess at the depopulation and decline of Venice; such, for example, was the festival of the Madonna della Salute (November 21), the anniversary of the cessation of the great plague. St. Mark's Square was then crowded with well dressed people, and the procession which moved across the Bridge of Boats to the church which was dedicated to the Virgin

who performed that miracle, might recall some of the Ducal ceremonies of the old times. So great was the crowd in 1815 that the Emperor Francis was nearly pushed from the bridge into the water, whilst walking in the procession.

On such days the Venetians seem to recover some of their former animation. The very lamp-lighters associate to feast on the produce of their oil refuse, and parade the town with shouts. The gaining of a lawsuit often draws a crowd of congratulators to the house of the successful litigant, who seldom fails to repay their *vivats* with a trifling present.

In general, however, the thoroughfares of Venice, excepting always St. Mark's Square, are peaceable during the day, and during the night a profound stillness reigns through the canals and streets, interrupted only by the warning cry of the gondoliers, and the dip of their paddles, or by the tinkling of some solitary guitar.

CHANGE IN MANNERS DURING FRENCH OCCUPATION.

The French have left traces of their dominion in Venice, as in other parts of the Peninsula, which may, in some measure, atone for their spoliations, and their first abuse of the right of conquest.* I do not allude to

* A contributor to the *Handbook, North of Italy*, p. 328, vindicates the Austrians at the expense of the French, who, he says, demolished 166 noble churches, broke the monuments in pieces, sold the marbles as rubbish, the bronzes as old metal, plundered the

their promenade, nor their large street, though very useful novelties, nor to the Government Palace, and ill assorted substitute for the old church of St. Geminiani. I refer rather to the improvements introduced, either by or with them, in the education of the higher classes of society. I was assured by persons not at all partial to their late masters, that, in former days, even well-born women were seldom able to write, and music and dancing were accomplishments rarely attained by them. They were taught to embroider a little, and to sing their psalter, and, having acquired these useful arts, were

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galleries and libraries, destroyed the archives, damaged and degraded and defaced the buildings, from mere wantonness, and reduced the city to what it now is—a mere shadow of its ancient splendour. "So far from the Austrians having acted as Huns towards Venice," the writer continues, "the preservation of our wreck is owing to their endeavours," &c. The quotation is from 'A Letter from a Resident,' who says that, in 1842, the trade of the city was rapidly increasing, the shops becoming vast depôts of stores, and Venice beginning to recover from her depression; though, he adds, "it cannot be denied that a large proportion of her rich and fairy patrician palaces are still falling into dilapidation and decay."

I was at Venice three years after this date, and had not the good fortune to fall in with the Resident, nor with any one who had a good word for the Austrians. The alacrity with which the Venetians rose, and the German garrison ran away, in 1848, and the prolonged resistance of the insurgents afterwards, show that the Venetian population generally did not agree with the Resident in his estimation of Austrian rule. The admission of the "Resident" as to the dilapidation and decay of a large proportion of the rich and fairy patrician palaces tells the story of Austrian domination. I looked in vain in 1845 for some of those noble buildings which I had seen in 1817 and 1822: one, indeed, I did see; it was the property of an opera dancer. Venice was declared a free port in 1829: "Sero—Hæc est fides"!!

taken from their convent, about the age of sixteen, to be married. The nobles of the other sex were nearly as ignorant. They were ashamed to be thought fond of reading, and scarcely condescended to learn the common accomplishments of good society. An union between two beings of such an order was so little expected to procure mutual happiness that some resource was not unfrequently provided by the marriage contract, stipulating for the interference of a third party, a privilege now and then extended, by special favour, to the female of an inferior "seto," with the express declaration, "come se fosse nobile." But the right of frequently changing this vicarious husband was jealously engrossed by the noble dame. The humbler imitators were confined to one cavalier, and, after his dismissal, could not adopt another, except after a reasonable interval; yet in these times the outward observances of religion were much more strictly attended to than afterwards: for example, it was all but impossible to procure meat on a fast day. Such were the nobles, speaking generally, of the old time. The merchants, advocates, physicians, and, now and then, a very few members of the priesthood, were, with some rare exceptions, masters of all the human learning that Venice could boast. Under the French rule the nobility were sometimes well educated. The daughters of great families were instructed in the usual acquirements of their sex, and to write and read and know French was not uncommon amongst them. The men were ashamed to be thought ignorant, and the

clergy themselves assisted in reforming the old mode of private and public instruction. The French, also, introduced a mixture of society between classes formerly kept quite distinct; but we found still remaining some symptoms of the old patrician pride, for, although individuals of all ranks, and it must be added of no character, were found in the higher "academie," yet their admittance was generally accompanied with the pretext that they could sing or dance well, or divert the company with some accomplishment not usually possessed by their superiors. A "Terra Firma Countess" was a title of disrespect as belonging to something below the private citizen of the DOMINANTE. We found the Venetians in 1817, as might be expected, pretty much as the French left them, in regard to their social life.

LITERATURE.

Venice, like all other great Italian cities, is seldom without some writer of real genius. Pindemonte and Foscolo, both of them, might in some respects be called her children, and her own Gritti * had found a successor

* Gritti enjoyed a great reputation in his day, and was an object of curiosity to strangers. An absurd mistake happened in regard to him when Madame de Stäel visited Venice. It was intended that he should be shown to that celebrated lady; but the invitation was carried to a pastry-cook of the same name, who obeyed the summons. When Madame de Stäel saw the supposed poet she accosted him in terms highly complimentary to his *works*. The cook very modestly replied, "Si fa ciò che si può."

in another provincial poet of equal celebrity. Bouratti, like Gritti, indulged his vein at the expense of his fellow-citizens; but his satire was personal rather than general, and it spared no man, least of all his friend. In a poem, expressly directed against a nobleman with whom he was intimate, Bouratti accused him, amongst other atrocities, of confining his brother in a madhouse. The charge was totally without foundation; and yet this malicious extravagance was overlooked by the admirers of the poet, one of whom, in my presence, contended that Bouratti was a good father, a considerate master, and a kind friend—in short, the best man in the world, but unable to resist the temptation to ridicule or expose any one, if he happened to be in the vein.

The same humourist having satirised a young Dalmatian just returned to Venice with the latest London fashions, the gentleman called on him and insisted on hearing the lines read, declaring that if they contained anything affecting his honour he should call the poet to account. Bouratti read the poem to him, when the young man, probably pleased with the notoriety which he should gain, consented to the publication and took his leave. Such subjects might safely be chosen for his muse, but when, in a poem on the destruction of the mad elephant by the garrison of Geneva, he had a word or two for Francis the First, Bouratti was admonished by the police, that the laws of German criticism admitted of no such episodes. That Emperor, indeed, like the Roman, did not court the notice, in any way, of his

literary subjects; when the representatives of certain academical bodies waited upon him at Verona with a complimentary address, he told them that "he did not want learned men, he wanted good subjects."

Much of Bouratti's merit must have escaped a foreigner, for he wrote in the Venetian dialect; but his success serves to confirm the opinion already hazarded, that the humour of the Italians is rather personal than general, and that it is not for want of the utmost licence in the choice of their subjects that their comic dramatists, with one or two splendid exceptions, have been hitherto inferior to their other writers. Provided the government was spared, the poet might deal his blows around him with little danger and with the certainty of a favourable reception: the privileged classes had no privilege against him. I open Goldoni at hazard, and find, in the first scene of the 'Locandiere,' a count and a marquis who make themselves and their titles mutually contemptible and ridiculous.

THE GREEKS IN VENICE—NATIONALITY.

There was a mixture of Greek blood in the veins of some of the better Venetians, which did not disgrace either race; and of the writers of our day, three belonged to Greece as much as to Venice. Ugo Foscolo was born in Corfu; Mustoxidi belongs only by adoption to the Venetian states—he is an Ionian; Madame Albrizzi, née Theotoki, was also from the Ionian islands. Her pleas-

ing Portraits * and her hospitality were equally useful to strangers, who were indebted to her house, and to two or three foreign residents, for almost all that was at that time to be seen of Venetian society. Petritini, the Censor of the press in 1817, was a Greek; he was an accomplished man, and deserved well of his adopted country. He informed me that he had transmitted a memorial to the Emperor Francis, requesting permission to print an edition of Botta's 'American Revolution,' and was refused. But though the historian of revolutions was not encouraged, the race of learned men is never extinct in any great Italian city; and when we first came to Venice the aged librarian, Morelli, still presided over his department in the magnificent saloon of the Great Council.

The contests and the triumphs of erudition exercise the ingenuity and indulge the vanity of those whose talents might, under other circumstances, be more nobly and more usefully employed. Those who might be historians of past times, or of their own, devote themselves to the safer discussion of some debated question in topography or archæology, or illustrate those arts which have always found favour with despotism.

In works of this description they are allowed to display their nationality at the expense of foreigners of all nations. Cicognara, whose great exploit in life has been the discovery of Titian's 'Assumption,' in his large work

* An essay so called, by Madame Albrizzi.

on modern sculpture has not mentioned the name of Thorwaldsen, just as Frederick of Prussia, in his poem on the Art of War, does not say a word about Marlborough, and makes Eugene the hero and conqueror at Blenheim. I have alluded to a treatise by Mustoxidi on the Horses of St. Mark's. It settled the question of their parentage and history to the satisfaction of all impartial judges; but Mustoxidi was not a Venetian—he was not even an Italian: he was therefore to be refuted and exposed. Accordingly, a Dandolo, a pupil at the Lyceum, put his name to a dissertation restoring the horses to their Italian birthright; and the question was tauntingly put to the Greek and his partizans, "Why go to Chios for sculpture, or to Corfu for a critic, when Rome could supply the one and a schoolboy answer the other?" Mustoxidi told me he strongly suspected Cicognara of being the author of the Dandolo Dissertation.

CANOVA.

The greatest modern Venetian undoubtedly was Canova, for he was born and died in the Venetian states. His 'Helen,' and his 'Hebe,' and his 'Emmo,' were amongst the shows of Venice; and the productions of such a fellow-citizen almost consoled the fallen capital for all her disasters. Count Cicognara, in his funeral oration over the great artist, seems nearly to say as much when he calls Canova "uomo concesso dalla Providenza alla specie umana per dimostrare che qualche equilibrio han pur tra loro talvolta le interminabile

serie delle sventure e i fugaci sorrisi della fortuna." The master hand of this most distinguished and amiable man was at the service of the successive conquerors of his country. The Bonaparte family and the House of Hapsburgh were equally his employers and his patrons. He enjoyed his Venetian pension, in all changes, from the ruin of the republic to the last transfer to Austria. During his life he was overlaid with panegyric, and his death was bewailed as a calamity that had deprived Italy of her life and light. Ten thousand sequins were subscribed (and amongst the subscribers were most of the sovereigns of Europe) for his monument; and it was actually proposed that, if this great monument, which was to be erected in the church of the Frari, opposite to the tomb of Titian, should not exhaust the whole subscription, the remainder should be devoted to a little monument in honour of him whom they called the rival of Zeuxis and Apelles. Cicognara luckily saw the ridicule of such a project, and stopped it.

THE ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS.

To keep open the only road to fame which an Italian may safely pursue, no pains are spared, no incitement unemployed. The Academy of the Fine Arts, with all its schools, does its best to perpetuate the glory and continue the race of great Venetian painters. The number of students at my last visit was about 300, with seven professors and a president to direct their labours. There is no danger to be apprehended, either to church or state,

by fostering genius of that description—not even if Cagliari, Tintoret, Palma, Bassano, and the great Titian himself were rivalled by a new generation of artists. Nevertheless, it is equally certain that, in order to preserve the trophies of native genius, some portion of the population should be able and willing to wield the sword as well as the pencil. Fortunately, the large pictures of the Ducal Palace are part of the Great Council Chamber, and almost defy removal; but the Venetians can feel but little pride in pointing to the 'St. Peter' and the other recovered treasures of their academy. They lost them without a struggle, and recovered them without any efforts of their own—indeed, by the valour and generosity of the Transalpine barbarians whom they affect to despise.*

VENETIAN SIGHTS.

I have made the circuit of these sights several times since my first arrival and residence in Venice with Lord Byron. Perhaps a few notices of them may be pardoned, even after all that has been said and sung of them.

* The patriots of 1848 seem to have run into the opposite extreme, and to have looked upon the cultivation of the fine arts as one of the causes of Italian degeneracy. Both at Rome and at Venice some efforts were made to give a practical illustration of this belief, by selling the masterpieces of their collections for state purposes. If independence could have been obtained by that sacrifice, the loss would have been as nothing compared with the gain. Many lovers of art have deplored the dispersion of the collection made by our unfortunate Charles; but who would set that loss as a counterbalance to the benefits of the great struggle which occasioned it?

Mr. Forsyth calls St. Mark's Church a fortuitous jumble. It may be so; for it is all gilt mosaic and precious stones, stuck round, above, and underneath, upon architecture which seems made for Turks, Greeks, Goths, and Italians, according to the different points of view from which it is beheld. Nevertheless, the effect is very striking, and, if the word may be used, historical. Of the Palladian churches of Venice, I was most pleased with the Redentore, which, although the simplest and least decorated, was never finished. Contrast this with the grey and green church of the Jesuits, or with that of the Carmelitan Scalzi, the Patavinian Temple, said to have cost 300,000 sequins, all marble and gold and gaudy colouring, but cumbrous and fantastic without, and within broken into fifty little chapels, to perpetuate the piety and pride of the noble founder.

Amongst all the decorations of these highly ornamented churches, those which, at that time, most surprised me were the stone landscapes of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which are finished with a delicacy and nicety of detail more resembling waxen pictures, or cast models, than marble reliefs. Two of them are by Toretti, the master of Canova, and his 'Christ in the Temple' recalls to mind the lightness and elegance of his great pupil. The pictures in the Madonna della Salute appeared to me in better preservation, and shown in a more favourable light, than those of the other churches. The 'Nativity' of Luca Giordano contains some exquisite female figures.

THE PALACES.

These are visited chiefly for the sake of their pictures; but the architects, as well as the founders of many of them, are great names, and their gigantic basements seem built for eternity. The same enormous blocks compose the great fourteen-mile dyke of Malamocco—a more than Roman work. The taste and luxury of the Venetian nobles survived to the last periods of independence. The charming collection of the Manfrini Palace * was made only a few years before the fall of the republic, and the Viceroy Eugene offered ten thousand sequins for Titian's 'Deposition from the Cross,' and offered in vain. This collection does not abound with the hideous martyrdoms of church history. The Barberigo Titians, the famous 'Magdalen,' and the long series of doges; the Pisani Veronese (the family of Darius); the Grimani Cabinet of Antiques, were amongst the daily sights of Venice, although their owners, in our days, were never seen. The 'Vitellius,' in the Grimani collection, is exactly like what Napoleon was when I saw him in 1815. The group there, called 'Alcibiades and Socrates,' is a strange satire on the wisest of men; and the Boy carrying a basket on a stick over his shoulder is an admirable figure.

The confraternity of St. Roque have little left but the Tintorets of their magnificent saloon. Their revenues,

* This collection has been dispersed, and sold chiefly to Englishmen and Americans.

once amounting to sixty-four thousand sequins, have dwindled to a monthly pittance assigned for the care of the apartments. Their brotherhood, of seven hundred in former days, is reduced to the one keeper of the pictures. But even this great establishment designed more than it ever accomplished: the variegated marble flooring of their chapel was finished only at the altar; and, after two hundred years of preparation, their tardy labours were terminated by the French invasion.

THE ARMENIANS OF ST. LAZARO.

In the first days of our residence at Venice we rowed over to the island of St. Lazaro to see the establishment of Armenian priests. The fathers were at prayers when we entered the chapel, but one of them soon bowed from the altar, and accompanied us round the convent. The cells, the refectory, the school, all the apartments were preserved with a scrupulous neatness not often seen in Italy. The library we were unable to see on this occasion, as the same accident happened to us as befell Dr. Johnson in his Highland tour—the librarian was absent, and had the key in his pocket. The object of this institution was described to us in a single phrase by the attendant father—"the illumination of our people."

The establishment was founded, we were told in 1816, about 120 years ago.* The number of resident

* The *Handbook* says the beginning of the last century, by the abbot Mechitar.

monks was then forty; but there are fifty others belonging to the convent in different parts of the world: the greater part of them natives of Constantinople—some few from Armenia. Their principal was a Transylvanian. The school was frequented by eighteen pupils, all of whom were instructed in the literal Armenian, in Latin, and in Italian; some learnt Greek, and French, and German, and Turkish. English was about to be introduced by our conductor, who had been in London, and spoke our language tolerably well.*

To promote their praiseworthy objects, this fraternity had a printing-press in constant activity, which had already printed twelve works from original manuscripts, and twenty other works. They were then employed upon a translation of Rollin, undertaken at the expense of a Mr. Raphael, a merchant from Madras, formerly settled at Thames Ditton, in Surrey.† They also con-

* Mr. Simond describes this worthy brother as having made an exchange of his Armenian for Lord Byron's English—an heroic bargain; but, alas! the Armenian spoke English before he saw Lord Byron, and Lord Byron never spoke Armenian at all. He attempted to learn it, but found it lost time to master the thirty-six letters of the Ruaric alphabet, and very wisely and generously preferred contributing to the expense of a dictionary and grammar, which might enable the descendants of the sons of Nimrod to know something of English.

† Mr. Raphael abandoned his library for parliamentary pursuits, and became member for St. Alban's. When I visited the Armenian convent in 1845, I was shown a black sarcophagus in the cloisters, and told it was Mr. Raphael's tomb. I remembered that I had left him alive a very short time ago, and was informed that it was only the intended burial-place of their benefactor, who wished

trived, at the same time, to publish, once a fortnight, an Armenian newspaper.

Their library contained about 400 MSS., of which all but 130 were duplicates. The most esteemed, and the greater number of them, belong to the eighth century; some few are of the fourth, when the literal language was first invented. Of these the most curious is an illuminated Life of Alexander the Great, which, although not differing in essential points from the ancient historians, contains, we were told, some details not to be found in Quintus Curtius or Arrian. The copy at St. Lazaro was torn, but there is a perfect one at Smyrna, of which it was intended to publish an Italian translation.* We were shown also the Armenian translation of the 'Chronicles' of Eusebius, of the fifth century, of which Scaliger has published a fragment. Other MSS. of history, geography, and biblical learning, are by Armenian authors. Some treatises on the arts, two of which, on navigation and perspective, have been printed, are translated compilations from modern publications. The library, besides the books in their own language, contains a very useful collection of works of reference, in Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and German.

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to secure during his lifetime a decent monument for himself in a favourite place. I do not know whether his remains were conveyed, at his death, to the convent.

* It has been published; but, as I hear—for I have not seen it, adds little to our knowledge of "the great Emathian conqueror."

The funds which supported this establishment were drawn partly from landed property, and partly from occasional donations, contributed, in great measure, by their friends, the Armenians of Calcutta. Napoleon saved it from the fate of other monasteries, by a decree which made an honourable exception in favour of those "whose labours and whose revenues were devoted to the instruction of their fellow countrymen." Some sagacious persons have found in this exception a deep-laid scheme to open a channel of communication between certain subjects of France and the malcontents, if any, in our Indian empire.* This may have been the motive, but I never heard it was proved to have been so. Moreover, the Armenians of Calcutta are the last persons likely to be the agents of treason.

THE ARSENAL.

No one goes to Venice without visiting the arsenal. The old jealousy which survived the Republic† no longer existed. An order from the naval commandant was easily procured. High and well-constructed battlemented stone walls, about two miles in circuit, enclose all the works. The great gate of entrance, an imposing archway, is guarded by the Athenian lions and the name of the Peloponnesian Morosini.

Much of the present appearance of the great docks is

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* I find the suggestion in the *Handbook of Northern Italy*, p. 361.

† See Forsyth's *Italy*, p. 436, edit. 1816.

due to Napoleon, who built that part of them in which seven ships were constructed during his reign, and also opened the outlet which looks towards the sea. The smaller galleys of the Republic used to pass through the gate on the land side. Napoleon himself attended the launching of the 'Rivoli,' and the Venetians were called upon to prepare a similar spectacle for their next master, who, however, seemed more charmed with a much less magnificent operation, for he gazed for two hours at the twisting of a cord in the Palladian rope-house. The Emperor Francis, in the first fond moments of reconciliation with his Italian provinces, very good-humouredly endured all that was expected of his patience; and was, besides, so easy of access, and so prodigal of his word, that it was no wonder he did not fulfil all of the forty thousand promises which his Imperial Majesty was said to have made in Venice alone. He had no rebuffs to administer to learned men in that city.

Those who have seen the machinery in Portsmouth dockyard would think very little of the Block-house in the Arsenal, where most of the work seemed to be done by hand; but the covered docks themselves are superb; and when we recollect at what period the arsenal was constructed, we can understand how it was that Venice was regarded in former days as one of the greatest of maritime powers.*

* Between 1307 and 1320 (*Handbook*, p. 350, where the above remark is made).

The armoury in the land arsenal contained but a small number of muskets, and swords, and pikes, compared with the collection in the Tower of London, but there is room for a far more formidable array. We were shown some questionable curiosities, such as the helmet of Attila, foufid at Aquileja, and some instruments of torture, said to belong to Francesco di Carrara. Here also we saw Canova's monumental bust of Emmo, who was fated to be the last of Venetian heroes; and whose exploits, at the time, were thought to secure him an immortality as durable as that of the Republic. Scarcely had the monument been completed when the Republic itself fell, to rise no more; and the admiral was to be no longer the favourite of fame, for the finger and the pen of the recording genius were broken off by some patriot of the short-lived democracy; but the word "IMMORTALITY" remains upon the tablet, as if in mockery of human praises and human hopes.

FERRARA. TASSO. ARIOSTO.

In the hospital of St. Anna, at Ferrara, they show a cell, over the door of which is the following inscription:—

"Rispettate, O Posteri, la celebrità di questa stanza, dove Torquato Tasso, infermo più di tristezza che delirio, ditenuto dimorò anni vii., mesi ii., scrisse versi e prose, e fu rimeso in libertà ad instanza della città di Bergamo, nel giorno vi. Juglio, 1596."

The dungeon is below the ground-floor of the hospital, and the light penetrates through its grated windows

from a small yard, which seems to have been common to other cells. It is nine paces long, between five and six wide, and about seven feet high. The bedstead, so they tell, has been carried off piecemeal, and the door half cut away, by the devotion of those whom "the verse and prose" of the prisoner have brought to Ferrara.

The above address to posterity was inscribed at the instigation of General Miollis, who filled Italy with tributes to her great men, and was not always very solicitous as to the authentic application of his record. Common tradition had assigned the cell to Tasso long before the inscription: and we may recollect that, some years ago, a great German poet was much incensed, not at the sufferings of the prisoner, but at the pretensions of the prison. But the author of Werther need not have felt so insulted by the demand for his faith. The cell was assuredly one of the prisons of the hospital, and in one of those prisons we know that Tasso was confined.* The present inscription, indeed, does exaggerate the attraction of the chamber, for the poet was a prisoner in the same room only from the middle of March 1579,

* Mr. Walker, in his historical memoir on Italian tragedy, saw this dungeon in 1792, and, in spite of some hints from Mr. Black, the biographer of Tasso, was inclined to believe it to have been the original place of the poet's confinement; (see 'Life of Tasso,' cap. xv. vol. ii. p. 97;) but the site will not correspond with what Tasso says of his being removed to a *neighbouring* apartment, "assai più commoda"—there is no such *commodious neighbouring* apartment on the same level.

to December 1580, when he was removed to a contiguous apartment much larger, in which, to use his own expressions, he could philosophize and walk about.* His prison was, in the year 1584, again enlarged.† It is equally certain, also, that once, in 1581, he was permitted to leave the hospital for the greater part of a day,‡ and that this favour was occasionally granted to him in the subsequent years of his confinement.§ The inscription is incorrect, also, as to the immediate cause of his enlargement, which was promised to the city of Bergamo, but was carried into effect at the intercession of Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua, chiefly owing to the unwearied application of Antonio Constantino, a gentleman in the suite of the Florentine embassy.‖

But the address should not have confined itself to the respect due to the prison: one honest line might have been allotted to the condemnation of the gaoler. There seems in the Italian writers something like a disposition to excuse the Duke of Ferrara by extenuating the sufferings, or exaggerating the derangement, of the poet. He who contemplates the dungeon, or even the hospital of St. Anna, will be at a loss to reconcile either

* La Vita di Torquato Tasso, scritta dall' Abate Pierantonio Serassi, seconda edizione. . . . . in Bergamo, 1790, pp. 34 and 64, tom. ii.

† La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 83, tom. ii.

‡ La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 63, tom. ii.

§ Vide p. 83, ut sup.

‖ La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 142, tom. ii.

the one or the other with that "ample lodgment" which, according to the author of the 'Antiquities of the House of Este,' the partiality of Alfonso allotted to the man "whom he loved and esteemed much, and wished to keep near his person."* Muratori confesses himself unable to define the offence of the patient; and in a short letter devoted expressly to the subject, comes to no other general conclusion than that he could not be called insane,† but was confined partly for chastisement, partly for cure, having probably spoken some indiscreet words of Alfonso. He makes no mention of any distemper in the prince; nor is it easy to discover that free exercise of his understanding for which Gibbon has somewhere

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* "Ma perciocchè questo principe l'amava e stimava forte, e non voleva privarsene elesse di alimentarlo in quell' ampio luogo, con desiderio che ivi fosse curato anche il corpo suo." Antichità Estensi, parte sec. cap. xiii. p. 405, ediz. fol. Mutin. 1740.

† Lettera ad Apostolo Zeno, see Tasso's Works, vol. x. p. 244. "Nè mentecatto nè pazzo," are Muratori's words. See also p. 242 and p. 243. He is a little freer spoken in this letter, but still says, "*the wise prince did not give way to his anger.*" Muratori's Annals were attacked on their first appearance, as "uno de' libri più fatali al principato Romano;" to which the librarian replied, that "truth was neither Guelf nor Ghibelline." If he had thought that she was neither Catholic nor Protestant, he would not have slurred over the massacre of St. Bartholomew as an event which gave rise to many exaggerations from the Hugonots. "Lascerò io disputare ai gran Dottori intorno al giustificare o riprovare quel si strepitoso fatto; bastando a me di dire, che per cagion d'esso immense esagerazioni fece il partito de gli Ugonoti, e loro servì di stimolo e scusa per ripigliar l'armi contra del Re." Annali ad an. 1572, tom. x. p. 464. In page 469, ibid., he talks of the great loss of France by the death of the murderer Charles IX., who, if he had lived, would have "extirpated the seed of heresy."

praised this celebrated antiquary.* Indeed, in his notice of this injustice, the librarian of the Duke of Modena, so far from seeming to forget the interests of the princely house which pensioned his labours, suggests rather the obvious reflection, that, when a writer has to obtain or repay any other patronage than that of the public, his first and paramount object cannot be the establishment of truth. In truth, the subject of an absolute monarchy is an unsafe guide on almost every topic. La Bruyère, like a good Catholic, reckoned the dragooning of the Protestants amongst the most commendable actions of Louis XIV.†

Manso, the friend and biographer of Tasso, might have been expected to throw some light upon so important a portion of his history, but the five chapters devoted to the subject only encumbered the question with inconclusive discussion. What is still more extraordinary, it appears, that of seven or eight contemporary Ferrarese annalists, only one has mentioned that Tasso was confined at all, and that one, Faustini, has assigned a cause

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* For a fine and just character of Muratori, see, however, the *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, p. 641, vol. ii. quarto. Gibbon's *Misc. Works.*

† The same writer declares "homage to a king" to be the sole sufficing virtue of every good subject in a monarchy, "where there is no such thing as love of our country—the interest, the glory, and the service of the prince, supply its place." (*De la République*, chap. x.) For which sentiment our great poet has made honourable mention of him amongst his dunces (*The Dunciad*, book iv. v. 522), with whom he might be safely left, did he not belong rather to the flatterers than the fools.

more absurd than instructive.* The later librarian of Modena, Tiraboschi, was equally disingenuous with his predecessor, and had the assurance to declare, that by prescribing a seven years' confinement Alfonso consulted only the health, and honour, and advantage of Tasso, who evinced his continued obstinacy by considering himself a prisoner. † But, with the librarian's leave, the suspicion was justified by the apprehensions of the poet's Italian contemporaries, who, in their supplications for his release, seldom gave him any other name. The same writer announced, in the first edition of his 'History of Italian Literature,' that he had made the long-looked-for discovery as to the cause of Tasso's confinement, and had entrusted the documents found in the archives of the house of Este to the Abate Serassi. In his second edition he declared that his expectations, and those of all the learned world, had been answered by the Life of the poet published by the Abate in 1785:‡ but the

* "Il Duca Alfonso II. il fece rinchiudere per curarlo di una fistola che lo travagliava." Vid. *Tiraboschi Storia della Letter. Ital.*, lib. iii., part iii., tom. vii. p. 1210, edit. Venet. 1796.

† "Credette egli perciò che e all' onore e alla salute del Tasso niuna cosa potesse esser più utile che il tenerlo non già prigione, ma custodito . . . . . intanto procurava con rimedj di calmarne l'animó e la fantasia. Ma ciò che Alfonso operò al vantaggio del Tasso non servì che a renderne sempre peggiore la condizione—Gli parve esser prigione." *Tiraboschi, Storia*, &c., lib. iii. tom. vii. par. iii. p. 1213, edit. Venet. 1796.

‡ *Storia*, &c., p. 1212 *ut sup.*

The English author of the Life of Tasso seems half inclined to believe in the love of the poet for Leonora (*Black*, chap. viii. vol. i. p. 188, and chap. xiii. vol. ii. p. 2), and quotes a passage in a letter

antiquary, still faithful to his patrons, did not mention that it appears, from every page of the biography, that the imprisonment must be attributed rather to the vengeance and mean apprehensions of the prince, than to the extravagance of the poet.

The Abate Serassi was acknowledged to be a perfect master of the "cinquecento," and he has spoken as freely as could be expected from a priest, an Italian, and a frequenter of the tables of the great. He shows that he is labouring with a secret, or, at least, a persuasion, which he is at a loss how, honestly, to conceal; and which, in spite of our natural respect for the best of princes, and the most illustrious of cardinals, is sufficiently apparent to confirm our suspicion of Alfonso's tyranny. The duke had not the excuse of Tasso's presumption in aspiring to the love of the princely Leonora.

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from Tasso to Gonzaga, omitted by Serassi, in which he talks of the princess having but little corresponded to his attachment (*Ib.* chap. xiv. vol. ii. p. 59). Mr. Walker, in his historical memoir, was bold enough to follow the old story even in the face of Serassi, who appears to me to have completely settled the question. Poetical gallantry will account for all the phenomena. Dr. Black himself wisely rejects the passion of love as the adequate cause of Torquato's insanity: but we may not perhaps subscribe to his opinion, that the poet lost his senses on account of the objections made to his *Jerusalem*. The biographer presumes him positively mad, and argues on his case out of Pinel, and Haslam, and others. On this ground he supposes the harsh conduct of the duke was adopted as necessary for the cure of Tasso (see chap. xv. p. 91, vol. ii.; chap. xii. vol. i. p. 808; chap. xv. vol. ii. p. 87; and chap. xvi. vol. ii. p. 113); and, if his meaning has not been mistaken, he almost apologises for the prescription of Alfonso.

The far-famed kiss is certainly an invention, although not of a modern date. The English were taught by a contemporary writer to believe that the Lydian boy and the goddess of Antium had precipitated Torquato into his dungeon,* and Manso hinted the same probability, but with much circumspection. The tale was at last openly told in 'The Three Gondolas,' a little work, published in 1662, by Girolamo Brusoni, at Venice, and immediately suppressed.† Leonora of Este was thirty years old when Tasso came to Ferrara; and this, perhaps, notwithstanding that serene brow, where Love all armed was wont to expatiate, reconciled him to the reverence and wonder which succeeded to the first feelings of admiration and delight.‡ It is true that neither her age, nor the vermilion cloud which obscured the eyes

* Mutis abditus ac nigris tenebris
In quas præcipitem dedere cæci
Infans Lydius, Antiique Diva.

See some Hendecasyllables of Scipio Gentilis. (*Serassi, la Vita del Tasso*, &c., lib. iii. p. 34, tom. ii.)

† Serassi calls it an *operaccia*. La Vita, &c., lib. ii. p. 169, tom. i. Muratori, in his letter to Apostolo Zeno, p. 240, loc. cit., tells the story from Carretta, who had heard it from Tassoni; and though he hesitates about the kiss, seems to believe Tasso was in love with Leonora, p. 242. Gibbon (*Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, p. 693) turns the story to good account—he believes—and makes a period.

‡ E certo il primo di che 'l bel sereno
Della tua fronte agli ochi miei s' offerse,
E vidi armato spaziarvi l' Amore,
Se non che riverenza allor converse
E meraviglia in fredda selce il seno
Ivi perìa con doppia morte il core.
Canzone. La Vita, &c., lib. ii. p. 148, tom. i.

of her sister Lucretia,* rendered his muse less sensible to the pleasure of being patronized by the illustrious ladies; and perhaps his intercourse with them was not altogether free from that inclination which the charms of any attractive woman might readily excite in a temperament too warm to be a respecter of persons. But his heart was devoted to humbler and younger beauties; and more particularly to Lucretia Bendedio, who had also to rank the author of the 'Pastor Fido' amongst her immortal suitors.† Of this passion the princess Leonora was the confidante, and aspired to the cure, by the singular expedient of persuading him to become the encomiast of one of his rivals.‡ Leonora San Vitali, Countess of Scandiano, was the second of the three Leonoras, who, whether they all existed or not, have rendered that name dear to the lovers of Italian poetry. But even the passion for the countess is reduced to a *perhaps* by the author of the Literary History of Italy.§ It appears then that the biographer is justified in exclaiming against the scandal, which is incompatible with the rank and piety of a princess who was a temple of honour and chastity, and a single prayer of whom res-

* Questa nebbia si bella e si vermiglia.

Tass. Oper. vol. vi. p. 27; *La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. 150, tom. i.

† La Vita, &c., lib. ii. p. 157, tom. i.

‡ La Vita, ut sup. Pigna was this rival.

§ Il était combattu d'un côté par son attachement pour le Duc Alphonse, pour ses sœurs, peut-être pour la jeune Comtesse de Scandiano. (*Guingené*, part ii. chap. xiv. p. 200.) In another place Guingené declares "mais cette passion fut toute poétique." How could he know?

cued Ferrara from the anger of Heaven and the inundation of the Po.* It is, also, but too certain that Leonora deserted the poet in the first days of his distress; and it is equally known that Tasso, who would not have forgotten an early flame, did not hang a single garland on the bier of his supposed mistress.

The biographer has left it without doubt that the first cause of the punishment of Tasso was his desire to be occasionally, or altogether, free from his servitude at the court of Alfonso, and that the immediate pretext of his imprisonment was no other than disrespectful mention of the Duke and his court. In 1575 he resolved, notwithstanding the advice of the Duchess of Urbino, to visit Rome, and enjoy the indulgence of the jubilee, and this "error increasing the suspicion already entertained at court, that he was in search of another service," was the origin of his misfortunes.‡ Alfonso detained him at Ferrara by the expectation of unrealized favours,§ and also by withholding his Jerusalem, which he would not

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Quando del Pò tremar l' altere sponde
Ferrara dannegiando e dentro, e fuora;
Un sol prego di te, casta Leonora,
Spense l' ire del ciel giuste e profonde.

Sonetto di Filippo Binaschi. See *La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. p. 170, tom. i.

† La Vita, &c. lib. iii. pp. 12, 48, 50, tom. ii.

‡ "Perciocchè da un si fatto errore si può dir che avessero origine le sue disavventure, essendosi con ciò accresciuto a dimisura il sospetto, che già si aveva alla corte, ch' egli cercasse altro servizio."—*La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. pp. 232, 233, tom. i.

§ "Il Duca m' ha fatto molti favori, ma io vorrei frutti e non fiori." In a letter from Tasso to Scalabrino.—*La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. p. 245, tom. i.

allow the author to carry with him to Venice, nor, although he had promised the delivery of the MS. to Cardinal Albano, would consent to restore after the flight of Tasso to Rome.* An habitual melancholy, which, it appears, made him tremble for his spiritual condition, a morbid sensibility irritated by the injuries of his rivals and the treachery of his friends, had driven him into an excess against an individual of the court: but Alfonso did not punish him for drawing his knife: he was merely confined to his apartment, from which the Duke soon released him, and carried him to the villa of Belriguarda—but finally, when Tasso was still discontented, the Duke transferred him to the Franciscan Convent at Ferrara, with strict orders that the concerns of his soul, and the diseases of his body, should be submitted to the treatment of the Holy Fraternity. The repeated complaints of the poet formed some pretext for the prohibition which he soon received commanding him to write no more, either to the Duke, or the Princess his daughter. This, however, drove Tasso to despair, and from the confinement, and the medicine of the Convent which he equally dreaded, he found means at last to escape.† He wandered, first, to his sister at

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* "Forse perchè increscevа al duca e alle principesse il perdere dopo la persona del poeta anche i suoi pregiati componimenti." An innocent observation of the Abate's.—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 7, tom. i.

† "Intanto il Tasso cominciò a lasciarsi purgare, ma di malissimo animo." (La Vita, &c., lib. ii. p. 283, tom. i.) Poor Tasso thought

Sorrento, and thence to Rome; but he felt an anxiety to recover his MS., and, although the Cardinal Albano and Scipio Gonzaga dissuaded him from trusting himself at the court of Alfonso, returned to Ferrara. He there found that the Jerusalem had been put into other hands, and that the Duke, after refusing to hear him mention the subject, denied him, at last, all access to himself and the princesses. Serassi presumes that this treatment is to be partly charged upon the poet, who, instead of putting himself into a course of medicine, ate and drank to excess; but he candidly owns that Tasso had a right to his own property, the fruits of his own genius.* He again retired from Ferrara, and remained absent for some time; but he again returned, in opposition to the entreaties of the Marquis Philip of Este, and others, who were better acquainted than himself with the character of Alfonso.† The Duke now refused to admit him to an audience. He was repulsed from the houses of all the dependants of the court; and not one of the promises which the Cardinal Albano had obtained for him was

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the excellence of a physician consisted in prescribing medicines not only salutiferous but agreeable: "Perchè come V. S. sa, l' eccellenza de' medici consiste in buona parte in dar le medicine non solo salutifere, ma piacevole."—*Tass. Oper.* vol. x. p. 360. Lettera a Biaggio Bernardi. *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 81, tom. ii.

* "Per altro sebbene sia da credersi che molte di sì fatte cose fossero soltanto effetto della sua imaginazione, e ch' egli anzi avesse irritato quell' ottimo principe col non aver voluto prestarsi ad una purga rigoroso . . . . ad ogni modo sembra, che se gli dovesse almeno restituire il suo poema."—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 13, tom. ii.

† La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 31, tom. ii.

carried into effect. Then it was that Tasso, "after having suffered these hardships with patience for some time, seeing himself constantly discountenanced by the Duke and the princesses, abandoned by his friends, and derided by his enemies, could no longer contain himself within the bounds of moderation, but, giving vent to his choler, publicly broke forth into the most injurious expressions imaginable, both against the Duke and all the house of Este, as well as against the principal lords of the court, cursing his past service, and retracting all the praises he had ever given in his verses to those princes, or to any individual connected with them, declaring that they were all a "gang of poltroons, ingrates, and scoundrels." These are the words of Serassi;* and for this offence was Tasso arrested, and instead of being punished, such is the hint of his biographer, was, by his "generous and magnanimous" sovereign, conducted to the hospital of St. Anna, and confined in a solitary cell as a madman. From repeated passages in his letters, from the intercessions made in his favour by so many of the Italian potentates,† from the condition annexed to his release, by which the Duke of Mantua stipulated that he would be guarantee against any literary reprisals from the poet against his persecutor,‡

* "Che tutti in quel momento spacciò per una ciurma di poltroni, ingrati, e ribaldi."—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 33, tom. ii.

† *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 128, tom. ii. Bergamo tempted Alfonso by the present of an antique fragment, p. 128, ut supra.

‡ "Ma riflettendo, che i poeti sono di loro natura *genus irritabile*,

there can be no doubt but that these injurious expressions, and these alone, were the cause of the confinement of Tasso: so that, as the unwillingly convinced biographer is obliged to exclaim, it appears extraordinary that so many fables should have been dreamt of to account for the motive of his long imprisonment.* Had that which Montaigne called "his fatal vivacity" directed itself against any others than the Duke and court of Ferrara, or had it preyed, as the Frenchman thought, upon himself alone,† a prison would not have been the prescription for such harmless extravagance.

It has been before mentioned that he was only nine months in the first dungeon allotted to his crime, or, as his tyrant called it, his cure; but to one whose disease was a dread of solitude, and whose offence was a love of liberty, the hospital of St. Anna was, of itself, a dungeon.‡

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e temendo perciò che Torquato, trovandosi libero, non volesse coll' armi formidabili della sua penna vendicarsi della lunga prigionia, e de' mali trattamenti ricevuti a quella corte, non sapea risolversi a lasciarlo uscire da' suoi stati, senza prima essere assicurato, ch' ei non tenterebbe cosa alcuna contro l' onore e la riverenza dovuta a un sì gran principe com' egli era."—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 128, tom. ii.

* "Cosicchè sembra cosa strana, come altri abbia potuto sognare tante favole, come si è fatto intorna al motivo della sua lunga prigionia."—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 34, tom. ii.

† "N'a-t-il pas de quoi savoir gré à cette sienne vivacité meurtrière," &c. &c.—*Essais*, &c., liv. ii. cap. xii. p. 214, tom. ii. edit. stereot. 1811.

‡ "E' l timor di continua prigionia molto accresce la mia mestizia; e l accresce l' indegnità, che mi conviene usare; e lo squallore della barba, e delle chiome, e degli abiti, e la sordidezza, e' l succidume fieramente m' annojano: e sovra tutto m' affligе la solitudine,

It is certain that for nearly the first year he endured all the horrors of a solitary sordid cell, and that he was under the care of a gaoler whose chief virtue, although he was a poet and a man of letters, was a cruel obedience to the commands of his prince.* Whatever occasional alleviations were allowed to his distress, he was a prisoner to the last day of his abode in the hospital, and he felt that there was perpetually a door barred between him and the relief of his body and his soul.† His misfortune was rather aggravated than diminished by the repeated expectations held out to him of approaching liberation. His calamities gathered upon him with his confinement, and at no time was his condition more

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mia crudele e natural nemica, della quale anco nel mio buono stato era talvolta cosi molestato che in ore intempestive m' andava cercando, o andava ritrovando compagnia."—Letter from Tasso to Scipio Gonzaga. *Oper.*, vol. x. p. 386; *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 35, tom. ii.

* "Sed neque cui parvo est virtus in corpore major
Mustius, obsequiis intentus principis usque."
His name was Agostino Mosti.—See *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 38, tom. ii. Tasso says of him, in a letter to his sister, "ed usa meco ogni sorte di rigore ed inumanità."—See *Opera*, vol. ix. p. 183, and *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 40, tom. ii. Baruffaldi tries to defend him by saying that Tasso was guilty of high treason, and Mosti was only doing his duty.—*Vita di M. L. Ariosto*, lib. iii. p. 244. This avowal is everything for the point wished to be proved.

† "O Signor Maurizio, quando sara quel giorno ch' io possa respirar sotto il cielo aperto, e che non mi veda sempre un uscio serrato davanti, quando mi pare di aver bisogno del medico o del confessore." This pathetic letter was written to his friend Cataneo a few months before his release.—*Opera*, vol. ix. p. 367; *La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 139, tom. ii.

deplorable than in the last months of his detention.* Amongst the diseases of his body and his mind, the desire and despair of freedom so constantly preyed upon him, that, when the order for his departure had been obtained, his friends were cautious not to communicate the glad tidings to him too abruptly, for fear of some fatal revulsion. We must then deduct something from the harmonious praise which our eloquent and courtly Gibbon claims for the splendid patronage of the house of Este. The liberality, the taste, the gratitude of Cardinal Hippolyto, may be collected from the poet whom he degraded into a courier, whose Orlando he derided, and whose services he requited with disdainful neglect.† The magnificence of his brother, the duke,

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* "Sappia che per l'infermità di molti anni sono smemoratissimo e per questa cagione dolentissimo, benchè non sia questa sola e, c' è la debolezza di tutti i sensi e di tutte le membra, e quasi la vechiezza venuta innanzi agli anni, e la prigionia, e l' ignoranza delle cose del mondo, e la solitudine, la quale è misera e nojosa oltre l' altre, massimamente s' ella non è d' uomini, ma d' amici." A solitude to which all the unhappy are condemned.—Letter to Monsigr. Papio, dated Sept. 1585. *Opera*, vol. x. p. 313; *La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 133.

† Non mi lasciò fermar molto in un luogo
E di poeta cavallar mi feo.—*Ariost.*, Sat. vi.

Messer Ludovico dove avete mai trovate tante fanfaluche? was the famous speech of the Cardinal to Ariosto on first reading the Orlando. Hippolyto dismissed him from his service without any recompense: he had before *encouraged* the composition of the Orlando, by telling the author, "che sarebbegli stato assai più caro che avesse atteso a servirlo." See the before-cited *La Vita di M. Lodovico Ariosto, scritta dall' Abate Girolamo Baruffaldi Giuniore: Ferrara*, MDCCCVIII. lib. ii. pp. 119, 120; lib. iii. pp. 174, 177.

assigned to Ariosto a pension of 21 *lire* a month, and food for three servants and two horses; a salary with which the poet would have been contented had it been paid.* But our historian has stepped beyond the bounds of panegyric in ascribing the Orlando to the favour of the first Alfonso.† The immortal poem struggled into life under the barren shade of the Cardinal Hippolyto, and the author derived no other benefit from its second appearance, under the auspices of the court of Ferrara, than the sale of a hundred copies for eight-and-twenty crowns.‡ The obligations of the Jerusalem Delivered to the second Alfonso, may have been already appreciated. They consisted in the seven years' imprisonment of the author, and the surreptitious publication of a mutilated MS. The princes of Italy were not deficient in a fruitless deference to the claims of literature: this was the taste of the age, and they divided that merit with the accomplished highwaymen of the day.§ They regarded a man of letters as a neces-

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The Abate, under the late Government, could afford to give an honest character of this *Purple Mœcenas*—and has done it.

* See Ariosto Satir. ad Annibale Malaguzzo, and La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 184.

† "Ferrara may boast that in her classic ground Ariosto and Tasso lived and sung; that the lines of the Orlando Furioso, and of the Jerusalem Delivered, were inscribed in everlasting characters under the eye of the first and second Alfonso."—Gibbon's *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, edit. cit. p. 694.

‡ La Vita di M. Lodovico Ariosto, &c., lib. iii. p. 136.

§ See the adventure of Ariosto with Filippo Pachione—La Vita di M. L. Ariosto, &c., lib. iii. p. 187; and that of Tasso with Marco di Sciarra—La Vita del Tasso, &c., lib. iii. p. 229, tom. ii.

sary appendage to their dignity, and a poet was the more cherished as he was the oftener employed in recording the triumphs of his protecting court. The muse was encouraged and confined to her laureate duties; and so carefully was her gratitude secured, and her recompense so exactly weighed, that, the day before the Prince of Mantua obtained the liberation of Tasso, he commanded the captive to compose a copy of verses, as an earnest, it should seem, of more elaborate efforts.* The same prince imitated the example of Alfonso in retaining the MSS. of our poet, as a pledge for his future attachment to the house of Gonzaga; and having assigned him a small sum for his immediate exigencies, would not allow him to purchase clothes unless he would consent to wear them out in the duties of the Mantuan court. A thousand traits in the life of Tasso serve to show that genius was considered the property, not of the individual, but his patron; and that the reward allotted for this appropriation was dealt out with jealous avarice. The author of the Jerusalem, when he was at the height of his favour at the court of Ferrara, could not redeem the covering of his body and bed, which he was obliged to leave in pledge for 13 crowns and 45 lire, on accompanying the cardinal of Este to France. This circumstance appears from a testamentary document preserved in manuscript in the public library of Ferrara, which is

* La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 144, tom. ii.

imperfectly copied into the Life of Tasso,* and the following letter† is extracted from the same collection of autographs as a singular exemplification of what has been before said of princely patronage.

MY VERY MAGNIFICENT SIGNOR,

I send your worship *five* shirts, all of which want mending. Give them to your relation; and let him know that I do not wish them to be mixed with the others; and that he will gratify me by coming one day with you to see me. In the mean while I wait for that answer which your lordship promised to solicit for me. Put your friend in mind of it. I kiss your worship's hand.

Your very faithful servant,

TORQUATO TASSO.

From S. Anna, the 4th of Jan. 1585.

If you cannot come with your relation, come alone. I want to speak to you. And get the cloth washed in which the shirts are wrapped up.

To the very Magnificent Signor,
The Signor Luca Scalabrino.‡

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* Lib. ii. p. 171, tom. i. Serassi had not seen the original, but copied from a copy—the list of goods in pawn is left out.

† Dr. Black has followed some incorrect writer in saying that Tasso's handwriting "was small and almost illegible." (Chap. xxiv. vol. ii. pp. 344, 345.) That it was large and very legible will be seen from a facsimile of an autograph in my possession, also subjoined.

‡ No inquiry has been able to discover who this Luca Scalabrino was.

Such was the condition of him who thought that, besides God, to the poet alone belonged the name of creator, and who was also persuaded that he himself was the first Italian of that divine race.* Those who indulge in the dreams of earthly retribution will observe that the cruelty of Alfonso was not left without its recompense, even in his own person. He survived the affection of his subjects and of his dependants, who deserted him at his death, and suffered his body to be interred without princely or decent honours. His last wishes were neglected; his testament cancelled. His kinsman Don Cæsar shrank from the excommunication of the Vatican, and after a short struggle, or rather suspense, Ferrara passed away for ever from the dominion of the house of Este.†

Alfonso was the chief delinquent, but he was not the only contriver, of Tasso's misfortunes. It appears that the poet was in part the victim of a household conspiracy,‡ formed by those who were totally incapable of

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* "Il Tasso si levò in collera, e disse . . . . che il poeta era cosa divina, e i Greci il chiamano con un' attributo che si da a Dio, quasi volendo inferire, che nel mondo non ci è chi meriti il nome di creatore, che Dio e il Poeta." (See La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 262.) Monsignor de Nores asked him who he thought deserved the first place, "fra i nostri poeti . . . . mi rispose, 'al mio giudizio all' Ariosto si deve il secondo:' e soggiungendogli io subito, 'e il primo?' Sorrise, e mi voltò le spalle, volendo credo io che intendessi, che il primo lo riserbava à sè."—See *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 262, tom. ii.

† Antichità Estensi., par. ii. cap. 13 and 14.

‡ La Vita, &c., p. 277.

appreciating either his virtues or his failings; and who thought themselves interested, if they did not find, to prove, him insane. For this purpose every little extravagance of action was carefully watched and noted down. Not only his words were submitted to the same charitable interpretation, but his thoughts were scrutinized, and, in pursuit of the same evidence of his derangement and disaffection to his duties, his books, his papers, and his correspondence were explored in those repositories which are safe against all but domestic treachery;* affection for his person, and admiration for his talents, were the pretext for every proceeding against his liberty and his fame; and so far did this insulting hypocrisy proceed, that a report was industriously spread, that it was the kind resource of pity to pronounce him not guilty but mad. This rumour caused and excused the desertion of one whose relief seemed hopeless. Remonstrance was an aggravation, concession a proof, of his delinquency. Both were unavailing, and the voice of friendship could give no other counsel than to be silent and to submit. His disaster was considered as his decease; and his contemporaries usurped and abused the rights of posterity. Compositions, some unfinished, and none of them intended for the light, were devoted to the greedy gains of literary

* Ibid. lib. ii. p. 258, tom. i. Plutarch tells us that Romulus allowed only three causes of divorce—drunkenness, adultery, and *false keys*.

pirates; and on such documents, no less garbled than the representation of his actions, did his enemies proceed to judgment. These calamities would have overwhelmed guilt, and might confound innocence. But the tried affection of an only sister, the unshaken though unserviceable regard of former associates, and, more than all, his own unconquerable mind, supplied the motive and the means of resistance. He had lost the hope of mercy, he cherished the expectation of justice. This confidence preserved the principle of life; and the sensibility of misfortune gave an irresistible edge and temper to his faculties whenever his spirit emerged from distress. The rays of his genius could not dissipate, but they burst, at intervals, through the gloom of his seclusion, and his countrymen soon found that their poet, although hidden from their sight, was still high above the horizon.

THE 'JERUSALEM DELIVERED.'

The opposition which the Jerusalem encountered from the Cruscan academy, who degraded Tasso from all competition with Ariosto, below Bojardo and Pulci, must also in some measure be laid to the charge of Alfonso and the court of Ferrara. For Leonard Salviati, the principal and nearly the sole origin of this attack, was, there can be no doubt,* influenced by a hope to acquire the favour of the House of Este: an

* La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 90, tom. ii. The English reader may see an account of the opposition of the Crusca to Tasso, in Dr. Black, *Life*, &c., cap. xvii. vol. ii.

object which he thought attainable by exalting the reputation of a native poet at the expense of a rival, then a *prisoner of state.* The hopes and efforts of Salviati must serve to show the contemporary opinion as to the nature of the poet's imprisonment; and will fill up the measure of our indignation at the tyrant jailer. In fact, the antagonist of Tasso was not disappointed in the reception given to his criticism; he was called to the court of Ferrara, where, having endeavoured to heighten his claims to favour, by panegyrics on the family of his sovereign,* he was in his turn abandoned, and expired in neglected poverty. The opposition of the Cruscans was brought to a close in six years after the commencement of the controversy; and if the academy owed its first renown to having almost opened with such a paradox,† it is probable that, on the other hand, the care of his reputation alleviated rather than aggravated the imprisonment of the injured poet. The defence of his father and of himself, for both were involved in the censure of Salviati, found employment for many of his solitary hours, and the captive could have been but little embarrassed to reply to accusations where, amongst other delinquencies, he was charged with invidiously omitting, in his comparison between

* Orazioni funebri . . . . delle lodi di Don Luigi Cardinal d'Este . . . . delle lodi di Donno Alfonso d'Este.—See *La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 117.

† It was founded in 1582, and the Cruscan answer to Pellegrino's *Caraffa* or *Epica Poesia* was published in 1584.

France and Italy, to make any mention of the cupola of St. Maria del Fiore at Florence.* The late biographer of Ariosto seems as if willing to renew the controversy by doubting the interpretation of Tasso's self-estimation† related in Serassi's Life of the poet. But Tiraboschi had before laid that rivalry at rest,‡ by showing that between Ariosto and Tasso it is not a question of comparison, but of preference.

The opposition to Tasso was not confined to the Italians, nor to his own age. Every one must remember the famous lines in which Boileau makes an invidious comparison between the gold of the Æneid and the tinsel of the Jerusalem :—

> A Malerbe, à Racan, préférer Théophile,
> Et le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile.
> *Sat.* ix. v. 176.

The biographer Serassi,§ out of tenderness to the reputation either of the Italian or the French poet, is eager to observe that the satirist recanted or explained away this censure, and subsequently allowed the author of the Jerusalem to be a "genius, sublime, vast, and happily born for the higher flights of poetry." To this we must however add, that the recantation is far from satisfactory, when we examine the whole anecdote as

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* "Cotanto potè sempre in lui il veleno della sua pessima volontà contro alla nazion Fiorentina."—*La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 96, 98, tom. ii.

† La Vita di M. L. Ariosto, scritta dall' Abate Girolamo Baruffaldi Giuniore, &c., Ferrara, 1807, lib. iii. p. 262.

‡ Storia della Lett., &c., lib. iii. tom. vii. par. iii. p. 1220, sect. 4.

§ La Vita del Tasso, lib. iii. p. 284, tom. ii., edit. Bergamo, 1790.

reported by Olivet.* The sentence pronounced against him by Bouhours† is recorded only to the confusion of the critic, whose palinodia the Italian makes no effort to discover, and, perhaps, would not accept.‡

FERRARA.

When Tasso arrived in Ferrara in 1565, he found the city one brilliant theatre.§ The largest streets which he saw thronged with all the forms of gaiety and splendour were in 1817 almost untrodden, and supported a

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* Histoire de l'Académie Française depuis 1652 jusqu'à 1700, par l'Abbé d'Olivet, p. 181, edit. Amsterdam, 1730. "Mais ensuite, venant à l'usage qu'il a fait de ses talens, j'aurois montré que le bon sens n'est pas toujours ce qui domine chez lui," p. 182. Boileau said he had not changed his opinion. "J'en ai si peu changé, dit-il," &c., p. 181.

† See La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'esprit, sec. dial. p. 89, edit. 1692. Philanthes is for Tasso, and says in the outset, "De tous les beaux esprits que l'Italie a portés, le Tasse est peut-être celui qui pense le plus noblement." But Bouhours seems to speak in Eudoxus, who closes with the absurd comparison, "Faites valoir le Tasse tout ce qu'il vous plaira, je m'en tiens, pour moi, à Virgile."—*Ib.*, p. 102.

Marmontel has rendered tardy justice to the great Italian in the following lines:—

"J'entends Boileau qui s'écrie : O blasphême,
Louer le Tasse!—oui, le Tasse lui-même.
Laissons Boileau tacher d'être amusant,
Et pour raison donner un mot plaisant."

‡ Addison agrees with Boileau, and says,—"And as for the poet himself, from whom the dreams of this opera are taken, I must entirely agree with Mons. Boileau, that one verse of Virgil is worth all the *clinquant* or tinsel of Tasso."—*Spectator*, No. 3, March 6, 1710-11.

§ See Il Gianluca, Oper. del Tasso, edit. Ven. 1738, vol. viii, pp. 13, 14.

few paupers in the fruitless attempt to eradicate the grass and weeds. The cutting the canal from the Reno to the Po, and the saltpetre manufactories, during the French rule, had begun to revive and augment the languid population. The return of the legate to the castle confirmed the curse on the streets of Ferrara. The Ferrarese subjects of Alfonso II. must share in the disgrace attached to the imprisonment, for they contributed to the persecution of Tasso.* To many names now scarcely known except as having been joined in this base design, must be added those of Horatio Ariosto, great nephew of the poet, and of the more celebrated Guarini. The disordered fancies of Tasso furnished them with the excuse and with the means for his ruin. The toleration of the eccentricities of genius is more frequently found in the language than the practice of mankind: and the natural inclination to repel any assumption or supposition of exemption from the common rules of life, is not more likely to be found in the saloons of princes, which are made up of forms and precedents, than in the lower independent classes of society. The Ferrarese appear to have carried their complaisance to their sovereigns to an unusual excess; for on the tower of the cathedral we read the following inscription.

"DIVO HERCVLE SECVN DVCE IMPERANTE."

* "Ciò che è certo è, che in Ferrara per la malvaggia invidia cortigiana venne a formarsi contro il povero Tasso una specie di congiura," &c.—*La Vita del Tasso*, &c., dell' Abate Pierantonio Serassi, sec. ediz. in Bergamo, 1790, lib. ii, p. 259, tom. i.

An apotheosis for which, if their god was still alive, there is some doubt whether the slavery of Imperial Rome can furnish them with an example.* Now it was one of the extravagancies of Tasso to discover that haughty spirit of a gentleman and a scholar, which made him averse to flattery, and to that self-annihilation which is the most acceptable quality in a dependant. To this ignorance of the arts of courtly dissimulation his biographer does not hesitate to attribute his misfortunes, and the inference must be discreditable to his Ferrarese competitors.†

TASSO'S LETTERS AND WILL.

I shall conclude my notice of the great author of the 'Jerusalem Delivered' by a transcript of eight letters, written by Tasso when in the Hospital of Sta. Anna, and of a testamentary memoir written when he undertook his journey to France.

The letters, with the exception of one which appeared in the 'Poligrafo,' a periodical work, edited at Milan

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* Julius Cæsar, Caligula, and Domitian, were deified during their lifetime. See the question argued in Donatus, who gives it against the DIVVS. Roma Vetus, lib. iii. cap. iv. Classical authority excused even irreligion. Bembo rejected that unity of the Deity which was repugnant to his Ciceronian latinity; and, when writing in the name of the Pope, ascribed his election to the chair of St. Peter to the favour of the "*immortal gods*," deorum immortalium beneficiis.

† "Quanto egli è piuttosto di sua natura altiero ed alieno da ogni termine di adulazione, che acconcio alle scurrilità cortigiane." —*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 261, tom. ii.

during the reign of Napoleon, were, it is believed, published for the first time in the Historical Illustrations to the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold.' They do not establish any new facts, but are not altogether devoid of interest. A translation of one of them has been already inserted amongst these Notices. There is also a copy of verses, beginning

"Gentilezza di sangue e gloria antica,"

which has been before published. Serassi mentions the will as having been in the possession of Baruffaldi of Cento, and as being no longer in the library belonging to the nephew of that learned person. It thus appears that the biographer had never seen the original, and it is certain that he followed an imperfect copy, for he has omitted the postscript or reference, which is interesting so far as it illustrates the scanty wardrobe of the poet, and consequently the mean patronage of the house of Este. On this account the reader may not object to see an exact copy of the memorial, notwithstanding the translation of an imperfect one has been already presented to him by a late English author.

A difficulty has suggested itself to Serassi respecting the date of the will, which he contends cannot be that of the copy which he followed, for Tasso had left Ferrara before 1573, the year marked in the printed document: the date preferred by the biographer is 1570. The fact is, that the manuscript is written on a doubled sheet of paper, of which the will itself occupies the two sides of the first half-sheet, and the epitaph on his father, and

the reference to the goods in pawn, are on the third opposite page. The date is at the bottom of the second page, and, having been worn away from the doubling of the sheet, the fourth figure cannot be deciphered.

THE WILL.

Benche la vita è frale, se piacesse al S^r^ Iddio disporre altro di me in questo viaggio di francia, sia pregato il Sig^or^ Hercole Rondinelli a prender cura d' alcune mie cose; e prima in quanto alle mie compositioni procuri di raccogliere i miei sonetti amorosi, e i madrigali, e gli mandi in luce; gli altri o amorosi o in altra materia, c' ho fatti per servigio d' alcuno amico, desidero che restino sepolti con esso meco, fuor che quel solo. "Hor che l' aura mia dolce altrove spira." L' oratione ch' io feci in ferrara nel principio dell' academia havrei caro che fosse vista, et similmente quattro libri del poema heroico. Del Gottifredo i sei ultimi canti, e de' due primi quelle stanze che saranno giudicate men ree, sì veramente che tutte queste cose siano reviste et considerate, prima dal Sig^r^. Scip. Gonzaga, dal Sig^or^. Domenico Veniero, e dal Sig^or^. Batt^ta^. Guarino, i quali per l' amicitia e servitù ch' io ho con loro, mi persuado che non ricuseranno questo fastidio. Sappiano però che mia intentione sarebbe che troncassero e risecassero, senza risparmio tutte le cose ch' o men buone o soperchie giudicassero; ma nel aggiungere o nel mutare andassero più ritenuti, non potendosi questo poema vedere se non imperfetto . . . . . Dell' altre mie compositioni sì al suddetto Sig^or^. Rondi-

nelli, et a prefati sig^{a}. alcùna ne parebbe non indegna d' essere vista, sia loro libero l' arbitrio di disporne; le mie robbe che sono in pegno presso Abram ———, per XXV lire, et sette pezzi di razzi che sono in pegno per 13 scudi appresso il Sig^{or}. Ascanio, e quelle che sono in questa casa, desidero che si vendino e del sopravanzo de dinari se ne faccia uno epitafio a mio padre, il cui corpo è in San Polo; et l' epitafio sarà l' infrascritto; et s' in alcuna cosa nascesse qualche impedimento, ricorra il Sig^{or}. Hercole al favor dell' Ecc^{ma}. Mad^{a}. Leonora, la qual confido che p' amor mio gliene sarà liberale.

Io torq tasso scrissi fer^{a}.

157

Bernardo taxo (Principum nego^{tiis}*) Musarum ocio et Principum negotiis suma ingenii ubertate atque excellentia pari fortunæ varietate ac inconstantia relictis utriusque industriæ monumentis clariss^{o}. torquat^{s}. filius posuit. vixit an septuaginta et sex. obi an. 1569. die 4^{o} Septemb.

Robbe che son presso Abram in via Cussa.
Due padiglioni.
Due colore turchesche guarnite di xendallo,
Un tornaletto di Razzo.
Due anteporti.

The eight letters, a translation of one of which has been already given, are as follows:—

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* *Principum nego^{tiis}*. These words are struck out in the MSS. Tasso thought better of the Muses than the Princes, and changed the precedence.

TASSO'S LETTERS.

1.

M. R^DO. MIO OSS^MO.

Nel foglio giunto temo che vi sia corso un' error di penna, ma non ne sono ben sicuro: comunque sia, avertite che si legga così, e che non esca altramente.

Se la felicità è premio, l' infelicità è pena: Ma la felicità è premio intrinseco della virtù. Dunque l' infelicità è pena interiore del vitio. E mi vi raccomando. Di S. Anna il xxvi. di Giugno.

Di V. S. Ser^e. il TASSO.

Al M^to. P^re. mio Col^mo.
Don Gio. Batt^a. Licinio.

2.

M. MAG^CO. SIG^E. MIO OSSM^O.

Non posso acquetar l' animo, s' io non sono certo del vostro buono stato: però vi pregno che me ne diate aviso, e se come io credo sete risanato, mi farete piacere a venire a vedermi: cosi piaccia a la Providenza del Sig^re. Iddio, d' averci in protettione.

Di S. Anna il x di Sett^re. del 1584.

Di V. S.

Aff^mo. Ser^e. TORQ^TO. TASSO.

Al M^to. Magn^co. Sig^r. mio
Oss^mo. il Sig^r. Luca Scalabrino.

3.

M. MAG^CO. SIG^RE.

Mando à V. S. cinque camice le quali hanno tutte bisogno d' essere racconcie: Le dia al suo parente:

e l' avertisca, che non vorrei che fosser mescolate con l' altre: e mi verrà* fare piacere di venire un giorno seco à parlarmi: frattanto aspetto quella risposta, che V. S. mi promise di sollecitare, ne dia ricordo a l' amico, e le bacio le mani. Di S. Anna il 4 di Gen^ro. del 1585.

Di V. S.

S^r. certiss^mo. TORQ^to. TASSO.

Se non può venir col parente venga solo, c' ho bisogno di parlarle: e faccia lavare il drappo nel quale sono inviluppate le cammice.

Al M^to. Magn^co. Sig^r.
Il Sig^r. Luca Scalabrino.

4.

MOLTO MAG^co. SIG^re. COME FRATELLO.

Scrivo a l' Illmo Sig^r. nostro padrone: e gli raccomando il negotio de la mia vita, pero credo che non abbia alcun bisogno di ricordo: il ricordo nondimeno a voi medesimo: e mi vi raccomando. Da Ferrara il xi d' Aprile del 1585.

Di V. S.

come Fratello P. Ser^la. TORQ^to. TASSO.

Al molto Mag^co. Sig^r. Giorgio
Alessio mio Oss^mo.

5.

ILLMO. E RMO. SIG. E PRON. MIO COLMO.

Dopo la prigionia, e l' infermità di molti anni, se le mie pene non hanno purgato gli errori, almeno la

* Thus in the MS.

clemenza di V. S. Illmâ può facilimente perdonarli; laonde io stimo, che la sua benignità mi faccia più lecito di supplicare arditamente, che non suol fare la mia calamità. La suplico dunque che non consenta à 'si lunga ostinazione de gli Uomini, nè voglia, che dia fine a la mia grave miseria la morte, ma la pietà: e quantunque ciò le fosse più facile ne lo stato de la Chiesa, che in alcuno altro: nondimeno in questo di Ferrara non le sarà difficile: perchè il Ser^mo^. Sig^r^. Duca non mi tiene in alcuna sua prigione, ma ne' lo Spedale di S. Anna: dove, i frati e i preti posson visitarmi a voglia loro, nè sono impediti di farmi giovamento. E 'l cenno di V. S. Illma. potrebbe esser Legge a tutti non che ammonitione: Oltrediciò può giovarmi in diverse maniere co' suoi Bolognesi medesimi: et in ciascuna d' esse mostrarmi la sua bontà congiunta a l' autorità: et in ciascuna, obbligarmi alla sua Casa, et a se stessa perpetuamente. Ma forse io non la supplico arditamente come havea detto, e come dovrei: perchè non basta la sanità, senza la libertà; e l' una, scompagnata da l' altra, sarebbe assai piccol dono di cosi gran Cardinale. Adunque le chiedo insieme. E, benche sia quasi disperato di risanare, nondimeno i salutiferi medicamenti, e gli efficaci rimedii, e l' allegrezza di vedermi libero potrebbono ritornarmi nel primo stato: ma sopratutto la gratia di N. S^re^. è di V. S. Illma. e la quale non dico il modo come possa farlo: perche la prudenza glie le manifesta e l' alto grado glie le agevola—ma le scopro il bisogno, e la necessità, e l' infelicità degna di ritrovar compassione ne

l' animo suo religiosiss^mo.: e le bacio humiliss^te. le mani. Di Ferrara il xii d' Aprile del 1585.

Di V. S. Illma.

Humiliss^mo. Ser^o. TORQUATO TASSO.

All' Ill^mo. et Rmo. Sig^r. e Padron mio Colendiss^o. il Sig^r. Cardinal Bon Compagno, Roma.

6.

M. MAG^co. SIG^R. MIO OSSMO.

Supplicai l' altro giorno al Ser^mo. Sig^r. Duca di Ferrara: che mi facesse gratia di molte cose, e particolarmente di rendermi le mie robe. Le quali fosser consegnate a Don Giovan B^ta. et a voi: nè debbo dubitare, da S. Altezza la gratia, ch' è molto picciola a la sua clemenza, et a la mia calamità: però vi piaccia di parlarne al Sig^e. Crispo, et al Sig^r. Cole .^mo: hora vi mando per Don Giò: Batta. Licinio cinque lettere d' opp^ni: e di risposte. Le quali vorrei, che si stampassero con l' Apologia—non vogliate vi prego mancarmi della vostra promessa: e questo vi scrivo non per dubbio, ch' io n' abbia; ma per desiderio d' un altro anello. Serbate per l' ultimo foglio la ded^ne. et amatemi. Di S. Anna il vii di Maggio del 1585.

Di V.

Ser^te. il TASSO.

Pos. mio nipote vorrebbe una beretta, fate che le sia fatta: che de l' anello parlerò poi.

Al Molto Mag^co. Sig^r. mio Oss^mo. Il Sig^r. Luca Scalabrino.

7.

M. MAG^co. SIG^re. MIO OSS^mo.

Io diedi i Mesi passati a V. S. un libro del Sig^e. Alessandro Gendaglia: nel quale erano alcuni miei concieti, hora 'ha mandato un 'suo a dimandarlomi. Laonde vi prego, che glie le diate: et havendo qualche risposta de l' Illmo. Patriarca Gonzaga, mi farete piacere di portarlami senza indugio e vi bacio le mani. Di S. Anna il p^mo. di Dicem^re. del 1585.

Di V. S.ª

Ser^e. TORQ^to. TASSO.

Al M^to. Mag^co. Sig. mio Oss^mo.
Il Sig. Luca Scalabrino.

8.

ILLMO. SIG^re. E PADRON MIO OSS^mo.

Mandai a V. S. Illma. queste settimane passate cinquanta scudi d'oro: et moneta perch' io non li posso tener sicuri: e credo, chè l' Sig^e. Luca Scalabrino; al quale io gli diedi li manderà a buon ricapito: non dico altro, se non ch' in questa camera c' è un folletto ch' apre le Casse e toglie i danari: beñche non in gran quantità ma non cosi piccola, che non possa discomodare un povero come son io. Se V. S. Illma. vuol* farmi questa gratia di serbarmeli, me ne dia aviso e frattanto

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* In the original MSS. the *u* and *v* are indifferently used.

ch' io provedo d' altro sia contenta, di pigliarli e le bacio le mani. Di S. Anna li 9 di Dic^re^. del 1585.

Di V. S. R^mo^.

Aff^mo^. Ser^e^. TORQ^TO^. TASSO.

All' Illmo. e Rmo. Sig^r^. e Pron mio Colmo.
Il Sig. Patriarca Gonzaga. Roma.

These letters may be thus translated:—

1.

VERY REVEREND MY VERY RESPECTABLE,

In the sheet which is arrived I fear that there is an error of the pen, but I am not quite sure of it: however it may be, take care that it is read thus, and that it is not published otherwise.

"If happiness is a reward, unhappiness is a punishment: but happiness is the intrinsic reward of virtue; then unhappiness is the internal punishment of vice:" and I recommend myself to you.

From S^t^. Anna, the 26^th^ of June.

From your servt.

TASSO.

To the very reverend my very venerable
Don Giovanni Batt^a^. Licinio.

2.

VERY MAGNIF. AND MY RESPECT: LE SIGNOR.

I cannot set my mind at ease, if I am not sure of your well-being: therefore I pray you to give me information concerning it, and if, as I believe, you are recovered, that you will do me the pleasure to come and see me: may it please the Providence of the Lord God to keep you in his protection.

S^t^. Anna, the 10^th^ of September, 1584.

Of your Worship

The most affect. serv^t^. TORQ. TASSO.

For the very Magn. my Lord, the very respectable
Signor Luca Scalabrino.

3.

The translation of this letter has already been given at page 175.

4.

VERY MAG^T. SIGNOR AND DEAR AS MY BROTHER.

I write to the Most Illustrious Lord our master: and I recommend to him the business of my life—however I believe that he has not any need of a remembrancer: nevertheless I remind you yourself of it: and I recommend myself to you.

From Ferrara, the 11th of April, 1585.

Of your Worship,

The Brother to serve you, TORQ^TO. TASSO.

To the very Mag. Sig^r. George Alessio, my most respectable.

5.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REV. AND MY MOST RESPECTABLE LORD.

After my imprisonment, and the infirmity of many years, if my pains have not purged away my errors, at least the clemency of Your Most Illustrious Lordship may easily pardon them: therefore I think that your benignity will make it allowable to ask with more courage than my calamity is wont to assume. I supplicate you, then, that you will interpose against the long and cruel perseverance of some men, nor suffer that death alone should be the close of my heavy sufferings—let them rather be terminated by compassion; for although that might be more easy to you in the territory of the Church than in any other; nevertheless, in this of Ferrara it will not be very difficult: because the Most Serene Lord Duke does not detain me in any of his prisons, but in the Hospital of St. Anna, where the brothers and the priests may visit me at their pleasure, and are not prevented from administering to my wants. Besides, a hint from Your Most Illustrious Lordship would be not only an admonition, but a law to all: in addition to which,

you may assist me in different ways amongst your Bolognese themselves; and in each demonstration of kindness give me a proof both of your goodness and of your authority; and moreover lay me under perpetual obligations to yourself and to your house. But perhaps I do not ask you with courage, as I had said I would, and as I ought to do; for health is not enough without liberty, and the one unaccompanied by the other would be a very small gift from so great a Cardinal. I ask, then, for both at once. And though I almost despair of being cured, nevertheless, salutary medicines, efficacious remedies, and the joy of finding myself free, might restore me to my former condition; but I account above all the favour of our Lord (the Pope) and of your most Illustrious Lordship; although I do not tell you the manner in which you may perform it; because it will be suggested by your prudence, and made easy by your high rank. All that I venture to disclose is, those wants and that misfortune which are truly worthy of awakening the compassion of your most religious soul: and I most humbly kiss your hands.

Of your most Illust. Lordship,

The most humble servant,

TORQUATO TASSO.

Ferrara, the 12th of April, 1585.

To the most Illust. and most Rev. and my very venerable Patron, the Lord Cardinal Bon Compagno. Rome.

6.

MY VERY MAGNIFICENT AND RESPECTABLE SIGNOR,

I intreated, the other day, the most Serene Lord Duke of Ferrara, that he would grant me sundry favours, and particularly that he would restore to me my goods, so that they might be consigned to Don Giovanni Battista and to you: nor ought I to doubt of receiving from his Highness this favour, which is but a very small one, both in proportion to his clemency and to my calamity; therefore be pleased to speak of it to Signor Crispo, and to the Signor my other respectable friend. I now send you for Don Giovanni Battista Licinio five letters of objections and of answers, which I should wish to be printed with the apology: do not, I pray you, fail in your promise to me: I write this to you, not from any

doubt, but from the desire of another ring. Keep the dedication for the last sheet, and love me.

From your servant,

TASSO.

St. Anna, the 7th of May, 1585.

Postscript.—My nephew wants a cap; get one made for him: I will speak to you about the ring afterwards.

For my very magnificent and respectable Signor,
the Signor Luca Scalabrino.

7.

VERY MAGNIF. AND RESPECT. SIGNOR.

I gave, during the last months, to your Worship a book of the Signor Alessandro Gendaglia, in which were some thoughts of my own: he has now sent a person to ask me for it. Therefore, I pray you that you will give it to him; and when you have any answer from the Most Illustrious Patriarch Gonzaga, you will do me a favour to bring it to me without delay, and I kiss your hands.

From your Worship's servant,

TORQ. TASSO.

St. Anna, the 1st of December, 1585.

For the very magnificent my Sig^r. the respectable
Sig^r. Luca Scalabrino.

8.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNOR AND MY VERY RESPECTABLE LORD,

I sent your most illustrious Lordship, these few weeks back, fifty crowns in gold, because I cannot keep them safely myself: and I presume that the Signor Luca Scalabrino, to whom I gave them, will see them conveyed safe to hand: I shall only say that in this room of mine there is a demon that opens the boxes and takes out the money: in no great quantity, indeed, but not so little as not to incommode a poor fellow such as I am. If your most illustrious Lordship will do me this favour to take care of them for me, let me have advice of it; and whilst I provide otherwise, perhaps

you will have no objection to take them into your keeping. I kiss your hands.

Of your very Rev. Lordship,

The affectionate servant,

TORQUATO TASSO.

From St. Anna, the 9th of December, of the year 1585.

To the most Illustrious and most Rev. Lord, and my very respectable Patron, the Lord Patriarch Gonzaga. Rome.

Since the preceding notices were written I have reconsidered the interesting subject to which they refer, and I have again visited the scene of Tasso's misfortunes. After mature deliberation, and following several writers, through a course of somewhat devious criticism, I have returned to my original position, and have concluded, as before, that the poet was a victim, first of the wounded pride, and afterwards of the jealous fears, of Alphonso; and that his attachment to the Princess Leonora, not only was not the cause of his imprisonment, but was not even a serious passion.

As to the question of his mental infirmities, I must repeat that Dr. Black, whom I have before noticed as believing in his actual insanity, has not at all made out that the poet was a maniac, for whose cure bodily restraint was an indispensable or a salutary prescription. Symptoms, indeed, he occasionally manifested of a distempered imagination. He was not free from the superstitious terrors which have often beset more sober minds; and a fond contemplation of the reveries of

Plato made him either believe, or feign, that he was favoured with that intercourse which Numa, and which Socrates, had held with more than human beings.*

That the irritability of Tasso approached, sometimes, to madness, seems probable; but we can hardly agree with a French critic, that a decisive proof of his insanity, after his confinement, was the persuasion that he should be finally able to obtain from Alphonso something like justice, something like pity.†

To return to the attachment of the poet for Leonora of Este: Serassi thought he had put an end to that controversy. I must confess I thought so too. But let no one flatter himself that he has laid at rest any disputed question. This has been revived by Guingené and others, and latterly by the author of a new translation of the Jerusalem. Guingené thinks he has shown that Tasso was really a passionate admirer of Leonora: but to what do his proofs amount? that Tasso wrote many verses to a Leonora, who, on some occasions it is certain, and on others it is possible, was Leonora of Este, and that the Sophronia of the Jerusalem was a portrait, probably, of the princess, the poet being her Olindo; that his sighs for Leonora San Vitali and Lucretia Bendidio, were meant to conceal his real passion for the sister of Alphonso; that his occasional coolness was but a disguise for his love; and that when he pretended to ask for a

* The sprite was sometimes malicious, as is seen by the letter already given in this volume.

† Guingené, Hist. Lit. d'Italie, part ii., chap. xiv. p. 227.

reconciliation in the name and on the behalf of a friend, that friend was in fact himself.

To the first conclusion it may be replied, in the words of Guingené himself, that "the gallantry of the manners of the age caused the homage of a poet, when addressed to ladies of the highest rank, to be regarded as inconsequential, leading to nothing, and flattering without compromising them."* The youthful bard who maintained fifty "AMOROUS CONCLUSIONS" in public debate, at the court of Ferrara, would have been thought deficient, not only in spirit, but in respect, had he failed to celebrate, and even to sigh, at least in poetry, for the mature charms of the presiding princess.

Secondly, to the surmise that Tasso's professed admiration for other women was but a cloak for his more ambitious passion, no reply can be made except that it is merely a surmise. In one of his letters Tasso entertains Leonora with the account of his love for Lucretia Bendidio, and of the artifice by which he persuaded his powerful rival Pigna to allow of his competition for the smiles of "this glorious lady," "*questa gloriosa signora.*"† Now I would beg to inquire of the experienced in the passion, if this is one of the topics on which a lover is likely to enlarge when writing to the real object of his adoration. Ovid, and the other authorities, do, I believe, teach that to gain the mistress it is sometimes advisable

* Hist. Lit. ib. tom. v. p. 238.

† Tass. Op. vol. ix. p. 313.

to address the handmaid; but I should doubt the expediency of making the lady herself a confidante of the pretended passion.

M. Guingené's other conjectures, as to the simulation and dissimulation by which Tasso concealed, under feigned names and feigned circumstances, his real love for the princess, are merely conjectures, equally incapable of proof and of reply; and as a specimen of this unsatisfactory method of treating the point in dispute, I shall extract his remark on the concluding sentence of Tasso's Will, of which I have previously given a copy from the original manuscript:—

Rappelons-nous les dernières volontés que le Tasse déposa, en partant pour la France, entre les moins d'un ami, et ce sonnet qu'il voulait sauver seul de l'oubli, et qui offre un de ces déguisements du nom de Léonore, dont nous avons vu d'autres exemples, et surtout cet appel fait à la protection de la princesse, qui l'accordera, disait-il, *pour l'amour de lui*. N'y voyons-nous pas le vœu d'un jeune homme passionné, pour que, si le sort dispose de lui dans une contrée lointaine, ses intérêts et sa mémoire puissent occuper après lui celle dont il emporte l'image? Mais le Tasse, amoureux comme un poète, était discret comme un chevalier. L'ami, dépositaire de ce testament, ignora sans doute lui-même la nature du sentiment qui l'avait dicté; nul autre ne fut admis dans ce secret, et je crois toujours fermement que l'indiscrétion de cet autre ami qui occasiona dans le palais du Duc une affaire d'éclat n'avait aucun rapport à Léonore.*

Now let us see what the French critic assumes and expects us to make articles of our belief. In the first place, he says that Tasso wished to save the sonnet beginning,

"Hor che l'aura mia dolce altrove spira;"

* Hist. Litt., ibid. p. 237–8.

because that sonnet was addressed to Leonora, and was a record of his passion for her. We are to take for granted that Laura meant Leonora, and we are also to take for granted that, when Tasso positively asserted in his Will that this sonnet was written for *the service of a friend*, he said this only to deceive his executors, and because, "though amorous as a poet, he was discreet as a cavalier," and would be for ever the sole depository of his secret passion for the princess.

But what becomes of this discretion if we are to attach any importance to the words which M. Guingené has put in italics, and which it is clear that author considered as almost decisive of the truth of his hypothesis, namely, "*for the love of me*"? Certainly, if this phrase was to be taken in the literal sense, that the princess loved the poet, there was an end of all mystery, and Tasso need not have concealed the fact that the sonnet which he wished to save was addressed to Leonora. The inferences of the critic are really inconsistent one with another; and even if this were not the case, any one who reads the Will cannot fail to remark that it furnishes proofs only of his anxiety for his own fame, and for the memory of his father, and that the incidental mention which he makes of Leonora only shows that he hoped the princess would extend her patronage of him even beyond his life, and enable his executor to carry his last wishes into complete effect.

After all his conjectures Guingené is, however, obliged to confess that the passion of which he finds so many

tokens was as much in the imagination as in the heart,* and he coincides with Serassi in rejecting the fable which assigned to that cause the imprisonment of the injured poet.†

Hugo Foscolo has slightly touched upon this subject in a short essay on the lyric poetry of Tasso,‡ which, if his own digamma did not discover the secret, would betray its author by the vigour, the fancy, and the acuteness that invariably distinguish even the most trifling compositions of this accomplished writer. But he has added nothing to our previous knowledge in this respect, and, after seeming to credit the story of the poet's attachment to Leonora of Este, he dismisses the subject by leading us to suspect that the object of Tasso's passion was rather a mistress than a sister of the Duke. It is true that he declares that the misfortunes of Tasso were the effect of an unconquerable and unhappy passion; but as he has made the assertion without advancing a single argument in proof of it, and without even an allusion to the many details and deductions of Serassi, which prove just the contrary, Foscolo has only afforded another instance of the truth of his own position, "that historians will be ever embarrassed to explain the reasons of Tasso's imprisonment."

I cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to

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* Hist. Litt., ib. p. 243.

† Ib. p. 241.

‡ See New Monthly Magazine for Oct. 1822, p. 373, signed *F*.

a Life of Tasso prefixed to the translation of the Jerusalem Delivered, by Mr. Wiffen. This gentleman is positive that "there is no real foundation for the hypothesis which ascribes the imprisonment of Tasso to his love of Leonora;"* and he agrees with the opinion expressed in the Illustrations of the 4th canto of Childe Harold, that the source of the poet's calamity was "a few unguarded expressions, uttered in the paroxysm of passion, and deplored almost as soon as uttered." But the translator is a firm believer in the love of Tasso for Leonora of Este, and he is almost a believer in the love of Leonora for Tasso. Before remarking shortly on the grounds of this faith, I must be permitted to observe that the translator has mistaken the meaning when quoting the following words of the Illustrations of Childe Harold: "*Serassi seems throughout to be labouring with a secret, or, at least, a persuasion, which he is at a loss in what manner honestly to conceal.*" From these words the translator infers the "secret" to have been the mutual love of Tasso and Leonora. No such thing; the secret which Serassi had discovered, and did not choose to tell plainly, though he left the reader to infer it from his details, was that Tasso was cruelly and unjustly punished by Alphonso, as a state criminal who had spoken, and who might write, injuriously against the vindictive duke.

* P. cxx. Life of Tasso, prefixed to Translation of Jerusalem Delivered, by J. H. Wiffen. 1826. 2nd edition. He was librarian at Woburn Abbey.

The translator was probably a very young man, and, as such, inclined to attribute to love a greater influence in human affairs than will be allowed by those who have travelled farther in the path of life. He gives to his poet an extremely erotic parentage, for, according to him, the youth of Bernardo, the father of Tasso, was "spent in the cultivation of letters, and the celebration of an unsuccessful attachment," so that to love, and to love in vain, was the fatal birthright of Torquato. The translator relies much on the inferences of Guingené, and on his own discernment, which enables him to discover when the amatory effusions of the poet are expressive of a real, and when of a poetic, passion. But, allowing this gentleman to be ever so deeply read in the learning of love, the critics will not, it is to be feared, permit him to decide this celebrated controversy merely by his skill in detecting the "real symptoms of the passion." That skill and the instructions of Guingené enabled Mr. Wiffen to discover that certain love poems, which have hitherto wanted a direction, were, in fact, addressed to Leonora of Este; that where Tasso mourns the death of a beautiful lady (she was forty-four years of age), that lady was Leonora of Este; that where he indulges in a pleasing melancholy on the memory of past love, the "*dolce animetta mia*," "my life, my dulcet little soul," as the translator renders it,* was no other than the very mature and awful princess of Este; and that the lady who spoke the

* Life of Tasso, p. cv.

"dear little love words"* (they are Mr. Wiffen's expressions) to him on a balcony, and chided him for withdrawing his arm from hers, was the same princely virgin. It will be seen, from this latter instance, that Mr. Wiffen does not believe that the poet was condemned altogether to sigh in vain. He is, indeed, prudent enough to confess that "how far Leonora corresponded to this ardent love must ever remain an inscrutable mystery;"† but in another place the translator's travels and researches in the "royaume du tendre" make him competent to decide that she "indulged with him in the simple luxury of loving."‡

Without stopping to inquire into the exact nature of this "simple luxury," I shall subjoin Mr. Wiffen's logic of love in his own words, and show the manner in which he would prove that the princess in some degree returned the passion of the poet.

"Little as it [the correspondence of attachment] might seem to poor Tasso at this crisis, it was doubtless greater in reality than he was at all aware of, it being the policy and perhaps the prudence of a woman conscious of her own deserts, and of the sacredness of her virgin feelings, to conceal from the aspirant to her heart the full strength of the emotions with which he may inspire her. But as love burns necessarily out without some ray of hope, however slight, to enliven it, we may safely conclude that there were many gracious tokens on her part shown from time to time to preserve in the soul of her admirer for seventeen years a passion fervent as at first."§

Poor Tasso! how could he be aware of the attachment which left him to languish in a dungeon, not only

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* Life of Tasso, p. ci.
† Ib. p. c.
‡ Ib. p. lxxxix.
§ Ib. p. ci.

without an attempt at his relief, but without reply to his most pathetic complaint?

One word more with Mr. Wiffen. I have before noticed the use which Guingené has made of some expressions in Tasso's Will, but the English biographer thinks his predecessor has not made half enough of that document, and he *reasons* thus:—"But what is most worthy of remark in this instrument is the appeal to the princess with which it closes. 'Should an impediment take place in any of these matters, I intreat Sig. Hercules to have recourse to the favour of the most excellent Madam Leonora, which, *for the love I bear her*, she will liberally grant.' Do we not most clearly perceive in this appeal the fond project of a lover to occupy, in case it were his fortune to perish in a distant country, the memory of her whose image was stamped upon his heart?" *

Mr. Wiffen has not only printed his translation of the important phrase in italics, but has given the original in triumphant capitals below, PER AMOR MIO. This is a most singular mistake, and I fear disqualifies the translator for criticism, either in love or grammar. Where could that gentleman learn that the translation of "per amor mio" is "*for the love I bear her*"?

Tasso merely says that if his friend Rondinelli should meet with any difficulty, or, in other words, should not procure money enough from the sale of his goods to

* Wiffen, Life of Tasso, p. xcvi.

raise the monument to his father, he would have him recur to the favour of the most excellent Mad. Leonora, "who" (not "*which*," as Mr. Wiffen has it), he says, "I trust, *for my sake*, will be liberal to him for that purpose."

Having pointed out this most egregious perversion of a very simple phrase, I shall not say anything of Mr. Wiffen's "fond projects," and stern "images stampt" upon hearts, except to observe that the deduction and the fine sentimental phraseology are both borrowed from Guingené,* who, as he had been copied so closely, might as well have been followed throughout the whole sentence, and have saved the English biographer from the sins and sad consequences of mistranslation.

Since this was written a most audacious attempt has been made to prove that which was previously conjectured by the writers above alluded to, namely, the mutual love of Tasso and the princess Leonora. In the year 1834 I received a letter from the late Captain Basil Hall, dated 25th of November, from Gratz in Styria, informing me that a certain Count Alberti had discovered in the Falconieri library, at Rome, a manuscript correspondence between Tasso and the Princess Leonora of Este, which, if published, would set the disputed question completely at rest; and adding that, as the owner of this treasure was coming to England, he

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* See Hist. Litt., tom. v. p. 237, before quoted.

wished me to become acquainted with him, in order, as he was pleased to say, "that I might assist him in advancing the cause of letters, and of truth, and, if it might be added, of true love." The MSS. had marginal notes by Guarini upon them. I heard no more of this Count Alberti until the other day (1856), when I was informed that in the very year mentioned by Captain Basil Hall, 1834, Alberti was arrested at Rome, and brought before a military tribunal, charged with having stolen certain MSS. of Tasso from the Falconieri library. These MSS. had formerly belonged to Foppa,—at least so said Alberti,—who, in 1666, published three volumes in quarto of Tasso's posthumous works, and whose collection of Tasso's MSS. had become, by inheritance, the property of the Falconieri family. Alberti produced a declaration of Orazio Falconieri, dated June 1825, by which it was made to appear that Alberti had bought the MSS. of this Falconieri; but it was afterwards held that this declaration was a forgery. At that time, however (that is, November 1834) Alberti was acquitted; and in 1837 he began to publish his MSS., illustrated with fac-similes, notes, and portraits. Before the edition was completed, he was accused of having forged the MSS. in question, and he was condemned to the galleys. What has become of him since I have inquired, but cannot learn.

The article TASSO in the 'Biographie Universelle' takes a just view of the cause and cruelty of his

imprisonment. Speaking of his return to Ferrara, the author, Mr. de Angelis, says,—

"Il est d'abord repoussé par les courtisans, outragé par les domestiques. Mal disposé comme il était envers les gens d'Alphonse, il se répand en invectives contre le Duc, contre sa famille, et les principaux personnages de la cour; il regrette tant d'années perdues à leur service, se reproche les éloges qu'il leur a prodigués dans ses vers, et finit en les traitant de lâches et d'ingrats. Le Duc, informé de ses emportemens, au lieu de les regarder comme les symptômes d'un esprit malade, résolut d'en tirer vengeance; et celui que l'Italie révérait comme son plus beau génie fut ignominieusement enfermé dans un hôpital de fous (Mars, 1579)." *

FERRARA. ARIOSTO.

Before the remains of Ariosto were removed from the Benedictine church to the library of Ferrara, his bust, which surmounted the tomb, was struck by lightning, and a crown of iron laurels melted away. The event, which is alluded to by Lord Byron in the fourth canto of Childe Harold, has been recorded by a writer of the last century.† The transfer of these sacred ashes on the 6th of June 1801 was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the short-lived Italian Republic; and to consecrate the memory of the ceremony, the once famous fallen "Intrepidi" were revived and re-formed into the Ariostean academy. The large public place through which the

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* *Biog. Univ.*, tom. xlv. p. 20.

† "Mi raccontarono que' monaci, ch' essendo caduto un fulmine nella loro chiesa schiantò esso dalle tempie la corona di lauro a quell' immortale poeta."—*Op. di Bianconi*, vol. iii. p. 176, ed. Milano, 1802; lettera al Signor Guido Savini Arcifisiocritico, sull' indole di un fulmine caduto in Dresdo l' anno 1759.

procession paraded was then for the first time called Ariosto Square. The author of the 'Orlando' is jealously claimed as the Homer, not of Italy, but Ferrara.* The mother of Ariosto was of Reggio, and the house in which he was born is carefully distinguished by a tablet with these words: "Qui nacque Ludovico Ariosto il giorno 8 di Settembre dell' anno 1474." But the Ferrarese make light of the accident by which their poet was born abroad, and claim him exclusively for their own. They possess his bones, they show his arm-chair, and his ink-stand, and his autographs.

. . . . . Hic illius arma
Hic currus fuit . . . ."

The house where he lived, the room where he died, are designated by his own replaced memorial,† and by a recent inscription. The Ferrarese are more jealous of their claims since the animosity of Denina, arising from a cause which their apologists mysteriously hint is not unknown to them, ventured to degrade their soil and climate to a Bœotian incapacity for all spiritual productions. A quarto volume has been called forth by the detraction, and this supplement to Barotti's Memoirs of the illustrious Ferrarese has been considered a trium-

* "Appassionato ammiratore ed invitto apologista dell' *Omero Ferrarese*." The title was first given by Tasso, and is quoted to the confusion of the *Tassisti*, lib. iii. pp. 262, 265.—La Vita di M. L. Ariosto, &c.

† "Parva sed apta mihi, sed nulli obnoxia, sed non
Sordida, parta meo sed tamen ære domus."

phant reply to the 'Quadro Storico Statistico dell' Alta Italia.'

REGGIO.

There is no country which can contend with Italy in the honours heaped upon the great men of past ages; and the present race accuse themselves of living upon the labours of their ancestors, and, as is the usual reproach of heirs, of finding in their transmitted wealth an inducement to inactivity. The territorial divisions and subdivisions which contributed to the emulation of the luminaries themselves have tended to the preservation of their fame, and the jealousy of each little district guards the altar of its individual divinity, not only as the shrine which is to attract the pilgrims of united Europe, but as the birthright which is to distinguish it amongst the children of the same mother, and exalt it to a preference above its immediate neighbours. Italian rivalry, in default of those contests which employed the arts and arms of the middle ages, now vents itself in the invidious comparison of individual *fasti*, and in the innocent, ostentatious display not of deeds but names. Thus it is that there is scarcely a village in which the traveller is not reminded of the birth, or the residence, or the death, or the actions of one or more of the offspring of a soil fruitful in every production, but more especially the land of famous men. The affection with which even the lower classes appropriate the renown of their departed fellow-countrymen is very striking to a foreigner; and such

expressions as "our Correggio," and "our Ariosto," in the mouth of a peasant, revive, as it were, not only the memory of the man, but the man himself. When Napoleon made his progress through his Italian dominions, the inhabitants of Reggio received him with a fête the principal decoration of which was a Temple of Immortality, painted at the end of a gallery, adorned with a double range of tablets to the honour of those worthies for whose existence the world had been indebted to the duchy of Reggio. The pretensions of Reggio may exemplify those of the other provinces of Italy, and the reader may not object to survey the pompous list.

Boiardo, Signore di Scandiano, epico, del secolo xv.

Guida da Lazara, giureconsulto, del secolo xiii.

Ludovico Ariosto, nato a Reggio, da Daria Maleguzi, Reggiana, lirico, comico, satirico, epico, del secolo xiv.

Domenicho Toschi, Cardinale, Reggiano, giureconsulto, del secolo xvi.

Filippo Caroli, Reggiano, giureconsulto, del secolo xiv.

Antonio Pacchioni, Reggiano, anatomico, del secolo xvii.

Cesare Magati, Scandianese, medico e chirurgo, del secolo xvii.

Gianntonio Rocca, Reggiano, matematico, del secolo xvii.

Antonio Allegri, detto il Corregio da Corregio, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Tomaso Cambiatori, Reggiano, giureconsulto, oratore, poeta, del secolo xvi.

Sebastiano Conradi di Arceto, grammatico e critico, del secolo xvi.

Lelio Orsi, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Vincenza Cartari, Reggiano, filologo, del secolo xvi.

Rafaello Motta, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Guido Panciroli, Reggiano, giureconsulto, storico, filologo, del secolo xvi.

Ludovico Parisetti, Reggiano, poeta Latino, del secolo xvi.

Gasparo Scaroffi, Reggiano, œconomisto, del secolo xvi.

Luca Ferrari, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvii.

Domenico Ceccati, da Stiano, scultore ed intagliatore, del secolo xvii.

Antonio Vallisnera da Scandiano, medico, naturalista, del secolo xvii.

Pelegrino Sallandri, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Agostino Parradisi, Reggiano, œconomista, oratore, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Francesco Fontanesi, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Jacopo Zannoni da Montecchio, botanico, del secolo xvii.

Lazari Spalanzani da Scandiano, naturalista, del secolo xviii.

Laura Bassi di Scandiano, fisica, del secolo xviii.

Carlo Antonioli da Corregio, filologo, del secolo xviii.

Francesco Cassoli, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Luigi Lamberti, Reggiano, filologo e poeta, del secolo xviii.

Antonio Gamborini, Reggiano, teologo, del secolo xviii.

Bonaventura Corti, Reggiano, fisico, del secolo xviii.

PETRARCH AND LAURA. VAUCLUSE.

Thanks to the critical acumen of a Scotchman, we know as little of Laura as ever.* The discoveries of the Abbé de Sade, his triumphs, his sneers, no longer

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* See An Historical and Critical Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch, and a Dissertation on an Historical Hypothesis of the Abbé de Sade: the first appeared about the year 1784, the other is inserted in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and both have been incorporated into a work published, under the first title, by Ballantyne in 1810. Tiraboschi, after praising the Abbé de Sade very copiously, devotes a whole treatise of forty-two octavo pages to exposing his blunders, but gives him full credit for having decided the great question as to the family and condition of Laura, though he says it is no wonder that the discovery was not made before. "Ciò che tutto a lui deesi, si è l'aver finalmente decisa la gran questione intorno alla famiglia e alla condizione di Laura, che egli ha svolta tanto felicimente, e comprovata con si autentici monumenti, che più non rimane luogo a disputarne."—See *Riflessioni sopra la Vita di Francesco Petrarca, scritta dall' Abate de Sade* prefixed to the *Petrarch* of the Milan edition of 1805.

instruct or amuse.* We must not, however, think that these memoirs are as much a romance as Belisarius or the Incas, although we are told so by Dr. Beattie, a great name but a little authority.† His "labour" has not been in vain, notwithstanding his "love" has, like most other passions, made him ridiculous.‡ The hypothesis which overpowered the struggling Italians, and carried along less interested critics in its current, is run out. We have another proof that we can be never sure that the paradox, the most singular, and therefore having the most agreeable and authentic air, will not give place to the re-established ancient prejudice.

It seems, then, first, that Laura was born, lived, died, and was buried, not in Avignon, but in the country. The fountains of the Sorga, the thickets of Cabrières, may resume their pretensions, and the exploded *de la Bastie* again be heard with complacency. The hypothesis of the Abbé had no stronger props than the parchment sonnet and medal found on the skeleton of the wife of Hugo de Sade, and the manuscript note to the Virgil of Petrarch, now in the Ambrosian library. If these proofs were both incontestable, the poetry was written, the medal composed, cast, and deposited within

* Mémoires pour la Vie de Pétrarque.

† Life of Beattie, by Sir S. Forbes, t. ii. p. 106.

‡ Gibbon called his Memoirs "*a labour of love*" (see Decline and Fall, cap. lxx. note 1), and followed him with confidence and delight. The compiler of a very voluminous work must take much criticism upon trust; Gibbon has done so, though not so readily as some other authors.

the space of twelve hours; and these deliberate duties were performed round the body of one who died of the plague, and was hurried to the grave on the day of her death. These documents, therefore, are too decisive: they prove not the fact, but the forgery. Either the sonnet or the Virgilian note must be a falsification. The Abbé cites both as incontestably true; the consequent deduction was inevitable—they were both suspected of being false.*

Secondly, the Scotch critic would make us believe that Laura was never married, and was a haughty virgin rather than that *tender and prudent* wife who honoured Avignon by making that town the theatre of an honest French passion, and played off for one-and-twenty years her *little machinery* of alternate favours and refusals†

* The sonnet had before awakened the suspicions of Horace Walpole: see his letter to Wharton in 1763. Foscolo quotes the Virgilian memorandum, as if there had been no doubt of its authenticity.—*Essay on the Love of Petrarch*, p. 35, edit. 1823. Tiraboschi had decided in favour of it; but he was fair enough to own that it had been questioned by some "monumento di cui alcuni han voluto rivocare in dubbio l' autorità."—*Vita del Petrarca*, p. xcii. The chief sceptics were Vellutello, Gesvaldo, and Tassoni; but Guingené says that the doubts of these sceptics in this matter had been cleared up, and their objections refuted,—"mais leurs doutes ont été éclaircis, et leurs objections réfutées."—*Hist. Lit.*, chap. xii. sect. 11, p. 440, note. A careful reperusal (1857) of de la Bastie's essays and of Lord Woodhouselee's essay has, however, convinced me that the probabilities are against the authenticity of the Virgilian note, and that the story of the discovery of the parchment sonnet in Laura's supposed coffin was a gross fiction. De la Bastie's essays are in the volumes xv. and xvii. of the Academy of Inscriptions.

† "Par ce petit manège, cette alternative de faveurs et de rigueurs

upon the first poet of the age. It seemed, indeed, rather too hard that a female should be made responsible for eleven children upon the faith of an abbreviation, and the decision of a librarian.* It is, however, satisfactory to think that the love of Petrarch was not a fiction. The happiness which he prayed to possess but once, and for a moment,† was surely not of the mind, and something so very real as a marriage project, with one who has been idly called a shadowy nymph, may be, perhaps,

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bien ménagées, une femme tendre et sage amuse, pendant vingt et un ans, le plus grand poëte de son siècle, sans faire la moindre brêche à son honneur."—*Mém. pour la Vie de Pétrarque*, Préface aux François. The Italian editor of the London edition of Petrarch, who has translated Lord Woodhouselee, renders the "femme tendre et sage" "*raffinata civetta.*"—*Riflessioni intorno a Madonna Laura*, vol. iii. p. 234, ed. 1811.

* In a dialogue with St. Augustin, Petrarch has described Laura as having a body exhausted with repeated *ptubs*. The old editors read and printed *perturbationibus*; but Mr. Capperonier, librarian to the French king in 1762, who saw the MS. in the Paris library, made an attestation that "*on lit, et qu'on doit lire, partubus exhaustum.*" De Sade joined the names of Messrs. Boudot and Bejot to that of Mr. Capperonier, and in the whole discussion on this *ptubs* showed himself a downright literary rogue.—See *Riflessioni*, &c., p. 267. Thomas Aquinas is called in to settle whether Petrarch's mistress was a *chaste* maid or a *continent* wife. Foscolo has given reasons for believing the word to have been "*partubus*;" but the context, which de Sade omitted to quote, gives authority to the other reading. Noticing these *ptubs*, Petrarch compares his own sufferings to those of Laura, which he is not likely to have done if they were those of childbirth.

† "Pigmalion, quanto lodar ti dei
Dell' imagine tua, se mille volte
N' avesti quel ch' i sol una vorrei."
—*Sonetto* 58, p. 189, edit. Venet. 1756.

detected in at least six places of his own sonnets.* The love of Petrarch was neither platonic nor poetical; and if in one passage of his works he calls it "amore veementissimo, ma unico ed oneste," he confesses in a letter to a friend that it was guilty and perverse, that it absorbed him quite, and mastered his heart.†

In this case, however, he was, perhaps, alarmed for the culpability of his wishes, for the Abbé de Sade himself, who certainly would not have been scrupulously delicate if he could have proved his descent from Petrarch as well as Laura, is forced into a stout defence of his virtuous grandmother. As far as relates to the poet, we have no security for the innocence, except, perhaps, in the constancy, of his pursuit. He assures us in his epistle to posterity that, when arrived at his fortieth year, he not only had in horror, but had lost all recollection and image of any "irregularity."‡ But the birth of his natural daughter cannot be assigned earlier than his thirty-ninth year; and either the memory or the morality of the poet must have failed him, when he forgot or was guilty of this *slip*.§ The weakest argument for the

* See *Riflessioni*, &c., p. 291.

† "Quella rea e perversa passione che solo tutto mi occupava e mi regnava nel cuore." Tiraboschi, and after him Ugo Foscolo, have set this question at rest. The passion of Petrarch for Laura was of the usual kind, no doubt; and that it was never gratified is equally clear.—See *Essay on the Love of Petrarch*, p. 219.

‡ *Azion disonesta* are his words.

§ "A questa confessione così sincera diede forse occasione una nuova caduta ch' ei fece."—Tiraboschi, *Storia*, &c., tom. v. lib. iv, par. ii. p. 492.

purity of this love has been drawn from the permanence of effects, which survived the object of his passion. The reflection of Mr. de la Bastie, so much approved by the amiable Scotchman,* that virtue alone is capable of making impressions which death cannot efface, is one of those which everybody applauds, and everybody finds not to be true, the moment he examines his own breast or the records of human feeling.† Such apophthegms can do nothing for Petrarch or for the cause of morality, except with the very weak and the very young. He that has made even a little progress beyond ignorance and pupilage cannot be edified with anything but truth. What is called vindicating the honour of an individual or a nation is the most futile, tedious, and uninstructive of all writing; although it will always meet with more applause than that sober criticism which is attributed to the malicious desire of reducing a great man to the common standard of humanity. It is, after all, not unlikely that our historian was right in retaining his favourite hypothetic salvo, which secures the author, although it scarcely saves the honour of the mistress of Petrarch.‡

* Life and Character of Petrarch, p. 219, 2nd edit.

† "*Il n'y a que la vertu seule qui soit capable de faire des impressions que la mort n'efface pas.*"—M. de Bimard, Baron de la Bastie, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. xv. and xvii. See also *Riflessioni*, &c., p. 295.

‡ "And if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable, he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry."—*Decline and Fall*, vol. xii. cap. lxx. p. 327, oct. Perhaps the *if* is here meant for *although*. I wrote the above sentence when very

Guingené contends for the purity of Petrarch's love.* But it must be confessed that this candid author gives to the pure passion certain symptoms which may easily be confounded with that feeling which Petrarch himself avows was criminal.† Of all the very famous men that ever lived, Petrarch appears to have been more distin-

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young. Now that I have arrived (1857) at the opposite extremity of life, I have satisfied myself that there is conclusive evidence to be derived from the writings of Petrarch himself, to say nothing of other testimonies, that Laura deserved the praises and the complaints of her immortal lover, and never rewarded his poetry by any criminal compliance with his passion. The Scotch critic concludes that he has cited authorities sufficient to prove that the only object of the poet was a lawful marriage with his virgin mistress—a consummation disappointed by death.

Tranquillo porto avea mostrato amore
A la mia lunga e turbida tempesta,
Già traduceva a' begli ochi 'l mio core,
E l' alta fede non più lor molesta;
Ahi morte ria, come à schiantar se' presta
Il frutto di molt' anni in si poche hore.
—*Son.* 49, part ii.

* "La pureté d'un sentiment que ni le temps, ni l'âge, ni la mort même de celle qui en étoit l'objet ne purent éteindre, a trouvé beaucoup d'incrédules; mais on est aujourd'hui forcé de reconnoître, d'une part, que ce sentiment fut très réel et très profond dans le cœur de Pétrarque; de l'autre, que si Pétrarque toucha celui de Laura, il n'obtint jamais d'elle rien de contraire à son devoir."—*Hist. Lit. d'Italie*, chap. xii. sect. i. tom. ii. p. 242, edit. 1824.

† "Pétrarque, de retour dans sa solitude, livré à des agitations toujours plus fortes, n'avait point de soulagement plus doux que d'épancher dans ses poésies touchantes les sentiments dont il étoit comme oppressé."[a] Many similar passages might be quoted. "Un sentiment purement platonique ne donne point les agitations et le trouble où on le voit sans cesse plongé."[b]

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[a] Hist. Lit., ibid., p. 353. [b] Ibid., p. 382.

guished than others by a sort of supernatural renown. His love was believed to be of the angelic kind; his poetic genius made him, like Virgil, a magician in the eyes of the Pope and the people; * and a false report of his death and funeral having been spread, he no sooner reappeared than he was taken for a spectre or shadow of the departed laureate, permitted to revisit earth; and some who saw him would not, without touching him, believe that he was a living man.† A blind man made a long journey merely to touch him.‡ If we look at the character of Petrarch under certain aspects, he must appear scarcely sane. The deferential homage with which he was treated by all men, from the throne to the cottage, from the Emperor Charles IV. to the goldsmith of Bergamo, may well have turned his head: nor can we wonder that, whilst he calls himself "a simple individual of the human flock," he should compare himself indirectly to the most illustrious men in history, nor that he cannot inform posterity of the origin of his family without borrowing the words of Augustus.§

There was something crazy in the very temperament

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* One of the proofs given to Pope Innocent VI. of Petrarch's dealing in the black art was his attachment to Virgil.—De la Bastie, *Mém.*, vol. xvii. p. 435.

† *Hist. Lit.*, chap. xii. sect. i. tom. ii. p. 369.

‡ De la Bastie gives a detailed account of this journey, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xvii.

§ On the Character of Petrarch, p. 126:—"Vestro de grege unus: fui autem mortalis homuncio, neć magnæ admodum, sed nec vilis originis: familia, ut de se ait Augustus, antiqua"—*Epist. ad Poster.*

that made him immortal, and in his remedies for it; at one time writing a sonnet on seeing his cold mistress kissed on the forehead and eyes by a prince in a ball-room,* and at another by whipping himself.†

Mr. Hallam, with an enthusiasm seldom to be found in his useful works, says that "Dante and Petrarch are, as it were, the morning stars of our modern literature;" and adds, very truly, that Petrarch "gave purity, elegance, and even stability to the Italian language, which has been incomparably less changed during near five centuries since his time, than it was in one between the age of Guido Guinizzelli and his own; and none have denied him the honour of having restored a true feeling of classical antiquity in Italy, and consequently in Europe."—('Literature of Europe,' &c., vol. i., pp. 56, 57, chap. i.)

The only modern contemporary writer who has somewhat questioned the merits of Petrarch's love, and Petrarch's love poetry, is Sismondi. "J'aurais voulu," says he, "pour comprendre l'amour de Pétrarque, et m'y

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* The note of Soave to the Milan edition of Petrarch, 1805 (p. 265), ascribes this celebrated salute to a prince of Anjou; De la Bastie and Guingené to Charles of Luxembourg, afterwards the Emperor Charles IV., with greater probability.

† "La mia sanità è sì forte, si robusto il mio corpo, che nè un' età più matura, nè occupazioni più serie, nè l'astinenza, nè i flagelli non protebbono domar del tutto questo ricalcitrante giumento, a cui fo continua guerra."—*Extract from a Letter to Guido da Settimo.* Tiraboschi, *Vita del Petrarca*, p. xlix. His "kicking jade" was, however, the glory as well as the torment of his illustrious life.

intéresser, que les deux amans s'entendissent un peu" . . . "je suis fatigué de ce voile toujours baissé, non seulement sur la figure, mais sur l'esprit et sur le cœur de cette femme, éternellement célébrée par des vers toujours semblables." But the worthy Swiss-Tuscan shrinks from his own criticism, and adds, "Cependant, mettant de côté, autant qu'il dépendra de moi, une prévention contre Pétrarque, dont je rougis, puisqu'elle est en opposition avec le goût universel," * &c. &c.

BOLOGNA. MEZZOFANTI. SIGNORA TAMBRONI.

At Bologna I had on two occasions the opportunity of witnessing instances of the extraordinary faculty of Mezzofanti. In 1817 I visited the great library of that city, of which he was principal librarian, in company with a near relation of mine, who had for some time been resident at Calcutta. We were received by Mezzofanti with the utmost courtesy, and conversed with him in our own language, with which he seemed almost as familiar as ourselves. On my mentioning that my relation had just returned from Calcutta, the librarian addressed him in the common colloquial vernacular of that capital, and I was assured by my companion that he spoke with a fluency and accuracy scarcely to be distinguished from the talk of a native Hindoo.

At my second visit to Bologna, in 1822, I was con-

* Littérature Italienne, xiv. siècle, tom. i., pp. 408, 410, edit. 1813.

versing with him in the library, when a stranger entered, and, addressing him in Italian, asked him for a book. Mezzofanti informed him that the book was in the library, and that, if he would call the next day, it would be placed before him. When the stranger withdrew I asked who he was. Mezzofanti replied that he had never seen the stranger before, but that he had asked for a book which it was most improbable would ever be asked for except by one person, and that he was an Englishman, the book being a Chinese work; "and," said Mezzofanti, "unless I am much mistaken, that gentleman is Mr. Manning, who, you know, has lived several years in China." Mezzofanti was right. I came the next day, and found that Mr. Manning had been to the library and consulted the volume in question, conversing with Mezzofanti in Chinese.

I was indebted to the courtesy of Mezzofanti for an introduction to the Signora Tambroni, Professor of Greek in the university of Bologna. He took me to see that celebrated lady. She received us in a small apartment, up several pair of stairs: the room was strewed with books; her professional cap and gown were on a chair, materials for writing, and a cup of coffee, on a small table, beside her. She rose as we entered, and the noble expression of her features, her majestic figure, and graceful air and manner, reminded me much of Mrs. Siddons. She was not young, but was still beautiful. Her voice was solemn but sweet, and there was a modest dignity in her address most becoming her noble

employment. When informed that I had visited the plain of Troy, she seemed pleased with our visit; but when Mezzofanti alluded to some Greek poems which she had recently published, she would not accept the professor's compliments. "They are nothing," said she, smiling, and changed the subject. At my next visit to Bologna she was dead, but held in affectionate remembrance; and her portrait, with cap and gown, was seen amongst those of the professors who had conferred honour on the famous university.

The subsequent career of Mezzofanti was more honourable to those who placed him amongst the Princes of the Church, than advantageous to his own renown. As member of the College of Cardinals, he added little or nothing to his former fame; but he will be always recollected as possessed of the most prodigious memory that a country abounding in such marvels ever produced.*

FLORENCE. THE TRIBUNE.

What a sagacious observer, who travelled when I was first in Italy, remarks, is quite true. Mr. Bell says, "The statues of the Tribune, the most exquisite in the world, are lodged in a mean and gloomy chamber, a

* Fra. Pacifico, a peasant child, is mentioned by Cardinal Wiseman as being able, after hearing a sermon preached only once, to repeat it almost word for word. He became a most eloquent preacher, and used to dictate a sermon to a secretary, and then preach it without reading it over at all.—See Wiseman's *Four Popes*, p. 163, note.

dull, tasteless, dreary, and melancholy apartment."* But that fact did not strike me so much as that which I witnessed in that famous room. A lady, an Englishwoman, was sitting with her back to the Venus de Medicis, with a young man flirting with her, so assiduously and earnestly, that neither the one nor the other seemed to be aware that they were within a yard of "the statue that enchants the world." The man, however, had some excuse for his indifference to high art, for the living object of his attention was exceedingly beautiful.

The Venus has all the characteristics indispensable to beauty. "She is comparatively small, measuring only four feet, eleven inches, and four lines; she is smooth; she is varied in the direction of component parts, and these parts are not angular, but moulded, as it were, into each other." She seems the prototype of Burke's ideal model; and so exquisite are all her proportions, that any observer can detect at once that portion of the statue which did not belong to the original figure. There is an affectation in the manner of the restored hands, and especially in the curve of the right hand, that is most unpleasing, — so says the high authority before quoted;† and Mr. Bell adds to this criticism on the Venus a less obvious remark on the Dancing Faun, "the most exquisite piece of art of all that remains of

* Observations on Italy, by John Bell, edit. 1834, p. 48, vol. i.

† Observations, &c., p. 56. A work of surpassing merit in every respect. Some of the descriptions are most vivid, and, to those who recollect the early death of the author, most affecting.

the ancients;" for he hazards the conjecture that Michael Angelo, in restoring the head and arms, perhaps from an antique gem, mistook the limbs of a drunken old Faun, balancing from inebriety, for those of a youngster "dancing with glee." This may be so; but the restoration is a wonderful work, and no one but an anatomist would see the alleged incongruity of the parts.

THE WHETTER.

It seems strange that the character of that disputed statue, the Whetter, should not be entirely decided, at least in the mind of any one who has seen a sarcophagus in the vestibule of the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls, at Rome, where the whole group of the fable of Marsyas is seen in tolerable preservation; and the Scythian slave whetting the knife is represented exactly in the same position as this celebrated masterpiece. The slave is not naked: but it is easier to get rid of this difficulty than to suppose the knife in the hand of the Florentine statue an instrument for shaving, which it must be, if, as Lanzi supposes, the man is no other than the barber of Julius Cæsar. Winkelmann, illustrating a bas-relief of the same subject, follows the opinion of Leonard Agostini, and his authority might have been thought conclusive, even if the resemblance did not strike the most careless observer.*

* See Monim. Ant., ined., par. i. cap. xvii. n. xlii. p. 50; and Storia delle Arti, &c., lib. xi. cap. i. tom. ii. p. 314, note n.

The student who, from the four masterpieces of sculpture, turns to the glorious paintings of this wonderful little room, has an opportunity of testing the truth of Sir Joshua Reynolds's remarks on the "divine" master, the reformer and finisher of modern art, and in no peculiarity more distinct and specific than that he is not to be duly appreciated by the unlearned, nor at first sight. It was not until I had read the affecting farewell discourse of our great painter to the pupils of the Royal Academy, that I understood why, of all the pictures of the Tribune, I admired the Michael Angelo the least.*

DANTE.

Dante was born in Florence in the year 1261. He fought in two battles, was fourteen times ambassador, and once prior of the republic. When the party of Charles of Anjou triumphed over the Bianchi, he was absent on an embassy to Pope Boniface VIII., and was condemned to two years' banishment, and to a fine of 8000 lire; on the non-payment of which he was further punished by the sequestration of all his property. The republic, however, was not content with this satisfaction, for in 1772 was discovered in the archives at Florence a sentence in which Dante is the eleventh of a list of fifteen condemned in 1302 to be burnt alive; *Talis*

* Said to be the only authenticated easel picture of Michael Angelo. See Duppa's *Life of M. Angelo* (1807), p. 282.

perveniens igne comburatur sic quod moriatur. The pretext for this judgment was a proof of unfair barter, extortions, and illicit gains. *Baracteriarum iniquarum, extorsionum, et illicitorum lucrorum,** and after such an accusation it is not strange that Dante should have always protested his innocence, and the injustice of his fellow citizens. His appeal to Florence was accompanied by another to the Emperor Henry, and the death of that sovereign in 1313 was the signal for a sentence of irrevocable banishment.† He had before lingered near Tuscany with hopes of recall; then travelled into

* Storia delle Litt. Ital., tom. v. lib. iii. p. 448. Tiraboschi's date is incorrect.

† From a letter of Dante's lately discovered (in the Laurentian Library), it appears that about the year 1316 his friends succeeded in obtaining his restitution to his country and possessions on condition that he compounded with his calumniators, avowed himself guilty, and asked pardon of the commonwealth.—See Foscolo's Essay, *A Parallel between Dante and Petrarch*, &c., pp. 202-3, where his glorious refusal is given, concluding thus:—"Quidni nonne solis astrorum que specula ubique conspiciam? nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub celo [sic] ni prius inglorium immo ignominiosum populo, florentinæ civitati me reddam? quippe panis non deficiet."—*Appendix*, p. 277. Dante could, however, at times indulge in feelings respecting his countrymen which might help to reconcile him to exile, *e. g.*, "E questa forse tu nol sai, Firenze? Questa crudel morte è chiamata: questa è la vipera volta nel ventre della madre: questa è la pecora inferma, la quale col suo appressamento contamina la grege del suo Signore: Questa è Mirra scelerata ed empia, la quale s' infiamma nel fuoco degli abbracciamenti del padre." Thus wrote Dante to the Emperor Henry VII.; and well might Foscolo add, "Firenze, 'bellissima, nel "Convito" famosissima figlia di Roma,' qui morde da vipera, le viscere della madre; e il padre incestuoso era il Papa."—*Discorso sul Testo*, p. 222.

the north of Italy, where Verona had to boast of his longest residence, and he finally settled at Ravenna, which was his ordinary but not constant abode until his death. The refusal of the Venetians to grant him a public audience, at the prayer of Guido Novello da Polenta his protector, is said to have been the principal cause of this event, which happened in 1321. He was buried ("in sacra Minorum æde") at Ravenna, in a handsome tomb, which was erected by Guido, restored by Bernardo Bembo in 1483, Pretor for that republic which had refused to hear him, again restored by Cardinal Corsi in 1692, and replaced by a more magnificent sepulchre, constructed in 1780 at the expense of the Cardinal Luigi Valenti Gonzaga. The offence or misfortune of Dante was an attachment to a defeated party, and, as his least favourable biographers allege against him, too great a freedom of speech and haughtiness of manner. But the next age paid honours almost divine to the exile. The Florentines, having in vain and frequently attempted to recover his body, crowned his image in a church,* and his picture is still one of the idols of their cathedral. They struck medals, they raised statues to him. The cities of Italy, not being able to dispute about his own birth, contended for that of his great poem, and the Florentines thought it for

* So says Ficino; but some think his coronation only an allegory.—*Storia*, ubi sup., p. 453. There is now a large monument to him in the Santa Croce at Florence, with this inscription, "Onorate l' altissimo Poeta"—from his own poem.

their honour to prove that he had finished the seventh canto before they drove him from his native city. Fifty-one years after his death they endowed a professorial chair for the expounding of his verses, and Boccacio was appointed to this patriotic employment. The example was imitated by Bologna and Pisa, and the commentators, if they performed but little service to literature, augmented the veneration which beheld a sacred or moral allegory in all the images of his mystic muse. His birth and his infancy were discovered to have been distinguished above those of ordinary men: the author of the Decameron, his earliest biographer, relates that his mother was warned in a dream of the importance of her pregnancy; and it was found, by others, that at ten years of age he had manifested his precocious passion for that wisdom, or theology, which, under the name of Beatrice, had been mistaken for a substantial mistress. When the Divine Comedy had been recognised as a mere mortal production, and at the distance of two centuries, when criticism and competition had sobered the judgment of Italians, Dante was seriously declared superior to Homer;* and though the preference appeared to some casuists "an heretical blasphemy worthy of the flames," the contest was vigorously maintained for nearly fifty years. In later times it was made a question which of the Lords of Verona could

* By Varchi, in his Ercolano. The controversy continued from 1570 to 1616. See Storia, &c., tom. vii. lib. iii. par. iii. p. 1280.

boast of having patronised him,* and the jealous scepticism of one writer would not allow Ravenna the undoubted possession of his bones. Even the critical Tiraboschi was inclined to believe that the poet had foreseen and foretold one of the discoveries of Galileo. Like the great originals of other nations, his popularity has not always maintained the same level. The last age seemed inclined to undervalue him as a model and a study; and Bettinelli one day rebuked his pupil Monti for poring over the harsh and obsolete extravagances of the Commedia. The present generation, having recovered from the Gallic idolatries of Cesarotti, has returned to the ancient worship, and the *Danteggiare* of the northern Italians is thought even indiscreet by the more moderate Tuscans.†

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* Gio. Jacopo Dionisi, canonico di Verona. Serie di Aneddoti, n. 2. See Storia, &c., tom. v. lib. i. par. i. p. 24.

† Foscolo, in the opening sentence of his 'Parallel between Dante and Petrarch,' writes thus:—"The excess of erudition in the age of Leo X. carried the refinements of criticism so far as even to prefer elegance of taste to boldness of genius. The laws of the Italian language were thus deduced, and the models selected, exclusively from the works of Petrarch, who being thus proclaimed superior to Dante, the sentence remained until our times unreversed. Petrarch himself mingles Dante indiscriminately with others eclipsed by his own fame:—

> Ma ben ti prego, che in la terza spera
> Guitton salute, e messer Cino e Dante.
>
> *Trionf.*, p. 164.

Whether Petrarch was really insensible to, or jealous of, the genius of Dante, may be a matter of speculation; but there is no

FOSCOLO.

I would strongly recommend to every lover of Italy, of Italian literature, and especially of Dante, the careful perusal of the first of the volumes published, in 1842, by Rolandi, 'La Commedia di Dante Allighieri, illustrata da Ugo Foscolo.' The preface to this edition, by an Italian (Mazzini), is worthy of the work, and shows the fervour of that worship of which Foscolo himself was deemed scarcely worthy to be a priest, although he has doubtless done more to illustrate the great object of Italian veneration than any preceding writer. From

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doubt that Boccacio suspected him of that defect.[a] This Parallel is very instructive, and is perhaps the most masterly and eloquent of all the critical essays produced by Foscolo during his last days in England. I doubt if a more interesting combination of characters and circumstances can be imagined than the earnest endeavour of Boccacio to persuade Petrarch to read Dante.[b]

The 'Inferno' which Lord Byron, when residing at Ravenna, habitually carried about with him, is in my possession. He gave the volume to me at Pisa in 1822. I then took leave of him, to see him no more. In the fly-leaf is the following memorandum in his handwriting:—

"*Ravenna, June* 12, 1819.

"This edition,[c] in three volumes, of 'La Divina Commedia,' I placed with my own hands upon the tomb of Dante, in this city, at the hour of four in the afternoon, June 12th, 1819. Having thus brought the thoughts of Alighieri once more in contact with his ashes, I shall regard this work, not with higher veneration, but with greater affection, as something like '*a copy from the author.*'

"BYRON."

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[a] Parallel, p. 165. [b] Ibid., p. 165.

[c] It is the edition of Pompeo Venturi, Livorno, 1817.

this preface a just conception may be formed of the character and merits of Foscolo, and also of the direful distresses of his latter days. I am afraid it is too true that his *Discorso sul Testo*, and other writings on Dante, which were his last, and were begun with the praise and encouragement of some of our first scholars, were concluded amidst the straits of poverty, the persecutions of creditors, and bodily sufferings, rendered more acute by assiduous study, and by the bitter consciousness that he would be unable, from want of means, of time, and of BREAD, to complete his labours in a manner equal to his own conception of the importance of his task, and to his veneration for Dante and love of Italy.* The very last sentence of his address to the reader portrays the sad similitude of griefs by which the commentator mournfully but proudly associates himself with the poet, and is never read, by me, at least, who knew him well, without much pity and more regret. "Ne parmi chè "io potrò dire lietamente addio all' Italia e all' umane "core, se non quando le avrò mandato il suo poeta "illustrato, per quanto io posso, da lunghi studj; e "sdebitarmi verso di lui che mi è maestro non solo di "lingua, e poesia, ma di amore di patria senza adularla, "di fortezza nel esiglio perpetuo, di lunganimità nelle "imprese, e di disprezzo alla plebe letteraria, patrizia, e "sacerdotale, della quale il genere umano ebbe, ed ha, "ed avrà sempre necessità." †

* Prefazione, p. xix. † Al Lettore, p. xxx.

PETRARCH. ARQUA.

Whilst at La Mira, on the Brenta, I made, in company with Lord Byron, an excursion to Arquà, to visit Petrarch's tomb.*

Arquà, for the last syllable is accented in pronunciation, is twelve miles from Padua, and about three miles on the right of the high road to Rovigo, in the bosom of the Euganean hills. After a walk of twenty minutes across a flat well-wooded meadow, you come to a little blue lake, clear, but fathomless, and to the foot of a succession of acclivities and hills, clothed with vineyards and orchards, rich with fir and pomegranate trees, and every sunny forest shrub. From the banks of the lake the road winds into the hills, and the church of Arquà is soon seen between a cleft where two ridges slope towards each other, and nearly inclose the village. The houses are scattered at intervals on the steep sides of these summits; and that of the poet is on the edge of a little knoll overlooking two descents, and commanding a view not only of the glowing gardens in the dales immediately beneath, but of the wide plains, above whose low woods of mulberry and willow thickened into a dark mass by festoons of vines, tall single cypresses and the spires of towns are seen in the distance, which stretches to the mouths of the Po and the shores of the Adriatic. The climate of these volcanic hills is warmer, and the vintage begins a week sooner, than in the plains

* 10th Sept. 1817.

of Padua. Petrarch is laid, for he cannot be said to be buried, in a sarcophagus of red marble,* raised on four pilasters on an elevated base, and preserved from an association with meaner tombs. It stands conspicuously alone, but will be soon overshadowed by four lately planted laurels. Petrarch's fountain, for here everything is Petrarch's, springs and expands itself beneath an artificial arch, a little below the church, and abounds plentifully, in the driest season, with that soft water which was the ancient wealth of the Euganean hills. It would be more attractive, were it not, in some seasons, beset with hornets and wasps. No other coincidence could assimilate the tombs of Petrarch and Archilochus. The revolutions of centuries have spared these sequestered valleys, and the only violence which has been offered to the ashes of Petrarch was prompted not by hate but veneration. An attempt was made to rob the sarcophagus of its treasure, and one of the arms was stolen by a Florentine, through a rent which is still visible. The injury is not forgotten, but has served to identify the poet with the country where he was born, but where he would not live. A peasant boy of Arquà, being asked by us who Petrarch was, replied that the people of the parsonage knew all about him, but he only knew that he was a Florentine.

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* Chaucer (*Clerk's Prologue*) calls the tomb a chest, from the Latin *cista*:—

> "He now is dede, and nailed in his chest—
> Fraunces Petrark."

Petrarch retired to Arquà immediately on his return from the unsuccessful attempt to visit Urban V. at Rome in 1370; and with the exception of his celebrated journey to Venice, in company with Francesco Novello da Carrara, he appears to have passed the four last years of his life between that charming solitude and Padua. For four months previous to his death he was in a state of continual languor, and in the morning of July 19, in the year 1374, was found dead in his library chair, with his head resting upon a book. The chair is still shown amongst the precious relics of Arquà, which, from the uninterrupted veneration that has attached to everything connected with this great man, from the moment of his death to the present hour, have, it may be hoped, a better chance of authenticity than the Shakesperian relics of Stratford-upon-Avon.

Every footstep of Laura's lover has been anxiously traced and recorded. The house in which he lodged is shown in Venice. The inhabitants of Arezzo, in order to decide the ancient controversy between their city and the neighbouring Aversa, where Petrarch was carried when seven months old, and remained until his seventh year, have designated by a long inscription the spot where their great fellow citizen was born. A tablet has been raised to him at Parma,* in the chapel of St.

* D. O. M.
Francisco Petrarchæ
Parmensi Archidiacono.
Parentibus præclaris genere perantiquo

Agatha, at the cathedral, because he was archdeacon of that society, and was only snatched from his intended sepulture in their church by a *foreign* death. Another tablet with a bust has been erected to him at Pavia, on account of his having passed the autumn of 1368 in that city, with his son-in-law Brossano. The political condition which has for ages precluded the Italians from the criticism of the living, has concentrated their attention to the illustration of the dead.

Mr. Forsyth* was not quite correct in saying that

Ethices Christianæ scriptori eximio
Romanæ linguæ restitutori
Etruscæ principi
Africæ ob carmen hâc in urbe peractum regibus accito
S. P. Q. R. laurea donato.
Tanti Viri
Juvenilium juvenis senilium senex
Studiosissimus
Comes Nicolaus Canonicus Cicognarus
Marmorea proxima ara excitata.
Ibique condito
Divæ Januariæ cruento corpore
H. M. P.
Suffectum
Sed infra meritum Francisci sepulchro.

* Remarks, &c., on Italy, p. 95, note, 2nd edit. A very striking instance of the ignorance of some, and those celebrated, English scholars, respecting Italian literature, may be seen in Denham's preface to his translation of a poem, whose author, Mancini, he says, "was contemporary to Petrarch and Mantouan, and not long before Torquato Tasso, which shows that the age they lived in was not so unlearned as that which preceded or that which followed." What could the author of 'Cooper's Hill' have meant by the chronology or the conclusion? Petrarch "*not long before*" Tasso! and what is it that shows the superior learning of the age of Petrarch over the preceding and the following times?

Petrarch never returned to Tuscany after he had once quitted it when a boy. It appears he did pass through Florence on his way from Parma to Rome, and on his return in the year 1350, and remained there long enough to form some acquaintance with its most distinguished inhabitants. A Florentine gentleman,* ashamed of the aversion of the poet for his native country, was eager to point out this trivial error in our amiable traveller, whom he knew and respected for an extraordinary capacity, extensive erudition, and refined taste, joined to that engaging simplicity of manners which has been so frequently recognised as the surest, though it is certainly not an indispensable, trait of superior genius.

The Florentines did not take the opportunity of Petrarch's short visit to their city in 1350 to revoke the decree which confiscated the property of his father, who had been banished shortly after the exile of Dante. His crown did not dazzle them; but when in the next year they were in want of his assistance in the formation of their University, they repented of their injustice, and Boccacio was sent to Padua to entreat the laureate to conclude his wanderings in the bosom of his native country, where he might finish his *immortal Africa*, and enjoy, with his recovered possessions, the esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens. They gave him the option of the book and the science he might condescend to expound: they called him the glory of his country, who was dear, and would be dearer to them; and they

* The late Cavaliere Cosimo Buonarroti.

added, that, if there was anything unpleasing in their letter, he ought to return amongst them, were it only to correct their style.* Petrarch seemed at first to listen to the flattery and to the entreaties of his friend, but he did not return to Florence, and preferred a pilgrimage to the tomb of Laura and the shades of Vaucluse.

VAUCLUSE.

In October, 1826, being at Avignon, I devoted a day to visiting Vaucluse. The road, for about four miles, passed over a very rich flat country of vines, olives, and mulberries, interspersed with meadows and corn-fields. It then ascended a chain of low hills, on which is the village of Châteauneuf, and afterwards crossed another rich plain by the villages of Thor and Lisle. Thence I came to a more barren and uncultivated country, and reached the foot of the rocky hills, from which issues the Sorgue, the river of Vaucluse. The scenery here was very dreary and naked, the hills without a tree tall enough to be seen at any distance. On one of the bare peaks to the left there was a château belonging to the Noves family, the family to which Laura belonged. Here I found myself in the mouth of the valley of Vaucluse, which, to say the truth, is indebted to poetry for all its charms. It is a sort of narrow pass, with

* "Accingiti innoltre, se ci è lecito ancor l' esortarti, a compire l' immortal tua Africa. . . . . Se ti avviene d' incontrare nel nostro stile cosa che ti dispiaccia, ciò debb' essere un altro motivo ad esaudire i desiderj della tua patria."—*Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. v. par. i. lib. i. p. 76.

little more than room for the road between low stony hills and the stream of the Sorgue. Advancing up the valley, I saw a paper-mill, with a green meadow and a few poplars, on my right; and on the left, cut into the rock, was a house which an Englishman had hired for a fishing box—his name was Perry. Beyond were some stunted olive-trees on the sides of the rocks, and here and there ledges of scanty vines. I soon came in view of the village of Vaucluse, and of the ruins of the castle on the rock under which it stands. This is called the château of Petrarch, and a house in the village is called the house of Laura. The whole scenery reminded me of a recess in the Apennines; not so mountainous, but quite as wild, and bare, and hot. The stream, however, is rapid and full; and if it did not turn paper-mills, might be romantic and poetical. I was taken to the inn of the 'Two Lauras,' which my driver preferred to the 'Petrarch and Laura,' a rival establishment. I went to the famous fountain; it is hardly ten minutes' walk from the village, the path passing by the banks of the Sorgue at the side of dry hills, with a few olive trees, mulberry trees, and a large walnut tree or two. At the end of the village, on the right, under the rock with the ruined castle, there is another large paper-mill and manufactory: and here, looking upwards, I saw a little waterfall, and a column placed at the very mouth of Petrarch's fountain of Vaucluse, and looking like an artificial cascade in a park, except that a portion of the stream is turned off to work the paper-mill. About a

hundred and fifty yards, however, above this spot, I came to where the rocks close in upon the river, and, ascending a little by the side of a cataract falling over large stones, came to the fountain itself. This was indeed a most secluded and romantic pool of sea-green water, under a stupendous precipice of red rock, whose crags, cut, as it were, into regular shapes, like circular buttresses, bent forward on each side so as to clasp round and conceal the source below. A huge rugged peak, rising above the ledges on the right, and a steep declivity of loose fragments of rock on the other side, with a precipice cut sheer in front, made the fountain appear unapproachable. It was shaped like an irregular segment of a circle less than a semicircle, the cord of the arc being about thirty-five paces wide; two small wild fig-trees grew out of the rocks just above the water, and a few stunted beeches were also to be seen; but there were no banks where Laura might repose her lovely limbs, and the fair vision must have been seen, not in this hollow of the rocks, but in the meadow by the stream below. The fountain seemed perfectly still, but it overflowed the ledges of the rocks, and formed at once a considerable stream; and there were several springs gushing from the rocks lower down than the fountain itself, which is said to be fathomless, and to pour forth its river to its full height in four-and-twenty hours from the time when it is most dry. Climbing to a crag above the pool, I sat down in the shade, whilst the rocks above were glowing in sunshine: I then made the above

note, but, alas! "with no poetic ardour fired." If any one desires to behold this favoured retreat of the great Tuscan poet embellished by the hand of kindred genius, I commend him to the charming description in Foscolo's Essay.*

BOCCACIO.

Boccacio was buried in the church of St. Michael and St. John at "Certaldo," a small town in the Valdelsa, which was by some supposed the place of his birth. There he passed the latter part of his life in a course of laborious study which shortened his days, and there might his ashes have been secure, if not of honour, at least of repose; but "the hyæna bigots" of Certaldo, as Lord Byron calls them, tore up the tombstone of Boccacio and ejected it from the holy precincts of the saints. The occasion, and, it may be hoped, the excuse, of this ejectment was the making of a new floor for the church; but the fact is, that the tombstone was taken up and thrown aside at the bottom of the building. Ignorance may share the sin with bigotry. It would be painful to relate such an exception to the devotion of

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* C. xi. p. 26. I prefer it to the verses of De Lisle, which, it may be observed, converted the recess in the rocks into something very like the cave into which Dido and Æneas retired, and asked a question, exceedingly pertinent indeed, but rather injurious to the fair fame of Laura:—

> "Une grotte écartée avait frappé mes yeux:
> Grotte sombre, dis moi si tu les vis heureux,
> M'écriai-je."—*Les Jardins*, ch. iii.

the Italians for their great names, could it not be accompanied by a trait more honourably conformable to the general character of the nation. The principal person of the district, the last branch of the house of Medicis, afforded that protection to the memory of the insulted dead which her best ancestors had dispensed upon all contemporary merit. The Marchioness Lenzoni rescued the tombstone of Boccacio from the neglect in which it had some time lain, and found for it an honourable elevation in her own mansion. She has done more: the house in which the poet lived has been as little respected as his tomb, and is falling to ruin over the head of one indifferent to the name of its former tenant. It consists of two or three little chambers, and a low tower, on which Cosmo II. affixed an inscription. This house she has taken measures to purchase, and proposes to devote to it that care and consideration which are attached to the cradle and to the roof of genius.

This is not the place to undertake the defence of Boccacio; but the man who exhausted his little patrimony in the acquirement of learning,—who was amongst the first, if not the first, to allure the science and the poetry of Greece to the bosom of Italy,—who not only invented a new style, but founded, or certainly fixed, a new language,*—who, besides the esteem of every polite

* It is almost forgotten that Boccacio was a poet. His contemporaries and after-ages treated his verses as he treated them himself after reading Petrarch's productions; yet his 'Teseide' was probably the first poem in which the *ottava rima* was employed with

court of Europe, was thought worthy of employment by the predominant republic of his own country, and, what is more, of the friendship of Petrarch,—who, though not free from superstition, lived the life of a philosopher and a freeman, and who died in the pursuit of knowledge,—such a man might have found more consideration than he has met with from the priest of Certaldo, and from a late English traveller, who strikes off his portrait as an odious, contemptible, licentious writer, whose impure remains should be suffered to rot without a record.* That English traveller, unfortunately for those who have to deplore the loss of a very amiable person, is beyond all criticism; but the mortality which did not

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success, and was the prototype of 'Palamon and Arcite.' He wrote another poem in *ottava rima*, called 'Filostrato, or Love Conquered.'—For an account of these poems, and the plot of the 'Teseide,' see Mr. Panizzi, *Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians*, pp. 159-163, edit. 1830.

* Classical Tour, cap. ix. vol. ii. p. 355, 3rd edit. "Of Boccacio, the modern Petronius, we say nothing; the abuse of genius is more odious and more contemptible than its absence; and it imports little where the impure remains of a licentious author are consigned to their kindred dust. For the same reason the traveller may pass unnoticed the tomb of the malignant Aretino."

This dubious phrase is hardly enough to save the tourist from the suspicion of another blunder respecting the burial-place of Aretine, whose tomb was in the church of St. Luke at Venice, and gave rise to the famous controversy of which some notice is taken in Bayle. Now, the words of Mr. Eustace would lead us to think the tomb was at Florence, or at least was to be somewhere recognised. Whether the inscription so much disputed was ever written on the tomb cannot now be decided, for all memorial of this author has disappeared from the church of St. Luke, which is now changed into a lamp warehouse.

protect Boccacio from Mr. Eustace, must not defend Mr. Eustace from the impartial judgment of his successors. Death may canonize his virtues, not his errors; and it may be modestly pronounced that he transgressed, not only as an author, but as a man, when he evoked the shade of Boccacio in company with that of Aretine, amidst the sepulchres of Santa Croce, merely to dismiss it with indignity. As far as respects

> "Il flagello de' Principi,
> Il divin Pietro Aretino,"

it is of little import what censure is passed upon a coxcomb who owes his present existence to the above burlesque character given to him by the poet whose amber has preserved many other grubs and worms: but to classify Boccacio with such a person, and to excommunicate his very ashes, must of itself make us doubt of the qualification of the classical tourist for writing upon Italian, or, indeed, upon any other literature; for ignorance on one point may incapacitate an author merely for that particular topic, but subjection to a professional prejudice must render him an unsafe director on all occasions. Any perversion and injustice may be made what is vulgarly called "a case of conscience," and this poor excuse is all that can be offered for the priest of Certaldo, or the author of the 'Classical Tour.' It would have answered the purpose to confine the censure to the novels of Boccacio; and gratitude to that source

whence Chaucer drew some of his inspiration,* and which supplied the muse of Dryden with her last and most harmonious numbers, might perhaps have restricted that censure to the objectionable qualities of the hundred tales. At any rate the repentance of Boccacio might have arrested his exhumation, and it should have been recollected and told that in his old age he wrote a letter intreating his friend to discourage the reading of the 'Decameron,' for the sake of modesty, and for the sake of the author, who would not have an apologist always at hand to state in his excuse that he wrote it when young, and at the command of his superiors.† It is neither the licentiousness of the writer, nor the evil propensities of the reader, which have given to the 'Decameron' alone, of all the works of Boccacio, a perpetual popularity. The establishment of a new and

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* Dryden says that he had once thought that 'Palamon and Arcite' was of English growth, and Chaucer's own; "but I was undeceived by Boccace, for, casually looking on the end of his seventh giornata, I found Dioneo (under which name he shadows himself) and Fiametta (who represents his mistress, the natural daughter of Robert King of Naples), of whom these words are spoken:—*Dioneo e Fiametta gran pezza Eantarono insieme di Arcita, e di Palamon*," by which it appears that this story was written before the time of Boccace.—See *Preface to the Fables*, Dryden's Works, vol. xi., Scott's edition.

† "Non enim ubique est, qui in excusationem meam consurgens dicat, juvenis scripsit, et majori coactus imperio." The letter was addressed to Maghinard of Cavalcanti, marshal of the kingdom of Sicily.—See Tiraboschi, *Storia*, &c., tom. v. par. ii. lib. iii. p. 525, ed. Ven. 1795.

delightful dialect conferred an immortality on the works in which it was first fixed. The sonnets of Petrarch were, for the same reason, fated to survive his self-admired 'Africa,' *the "favourite of kings."* The invariable traits of nature and feeling with which the novels of the one, and the verses of the other, abound, have doubtless been the chief source of the foreign celebrity of both authors; but Boccacio, as a man, is no more to be estimated by the tales than Petrarch is to be regarded in no other light than the lover of Laura. Even, however, had the father of Tuscan prose been known only as the author of the 'Decameron,' a considerate writer would have been cautious to pronounce a sentence on him irreconcilable with the unerring voice of many ages and nations. An irrevocable value has never been stamped upon any work solely recommended by impurity.

The true source of the outcry against Boccacio, which began at a very early period, was the choice of his scandalous personages in cloisters as well as courts; but the princes only laughed at the gallant adventures so unjustly charged upon Queen Theodolinda, whilst the priesthood cried shame upon the debauches drawn from the convent and the hermitage, and, most probably, for the opposite reason, namely, that the picture was faithful to the life. Two of the novels are allowed to be facts usefully turned into tales, to deride the canonization of rogues and laymen. 'Ser Ciappelletto' and 'Marcellinus' are cited with applause even by the decent Mura-

tori.* A new edition of the novels was published in 1573,† of which the expurgation consisted in omitting the words "monk" and "nun," and tacking the immoralities to other names. But it was not long before the whole of Europe had but one opinion of the 'Decameron;' and the absolution of the author seems to have been a point settled at least a hundred years ago: "On se feroit siffler si l'on prétendoit convaincre Boccace de n'avoir pas été honnête homme, puisqu'il a fait le Decameron." So said one of the best men, and perhaps the best critic, that ever lived—the very martyr to im-

* Dissertazioni sopra le antichità Italiane. Diss. lviii. p. 253, tom. iii. edit. Milan, 1751.

† The title of this edition is as follows:—"Il Decamerone di Messer Giovanni Boccacio Cittadino Fiorentino. Ricorretto in Roma ed emendato secondo l' ordine del Sacro Conc. di Trento. Et riscontrato in Firenze con testi antichi et alla sua vera lezione ridotto da' Deputati di loro Alt. Ser. Nuovamente stampato—con privilegii del Sommo Pontefice, delle Maestadi del Re Christianissimo et Re Cattolico, delli Serenissimi Gran Duca et Principe di Toscana, dell' Ill. et Ecc. Duca di Ferrara e d' altri Sign. et Rep. In Fiorenza nella Stamperia de i Giunti. 1573." A detailed account of this edition is given in the 'Discorso Storico sul Testo,' prefixed to the Decameron, published by Pickering, London, in 1825. Nothing can be more amusing than the controversy between the Master of the Sacred Palace and the Deputati, who undertook to defend the book in which they "saw all the treasures of human eloquence." The sixth novel of the first day could not be altered so as to suit the Master of the Sacred Palace; it was, therefore, proposed to leave it out: but how could ninety-nine tales be called a hundred tales? As this could not be, the objectionable story was left out, but another tale was supplied from the 'Fiametta' of Boccacio himself. Yet this plan was not satisfactory, for the Florentine academicians objected that the author had written well and purely only in the Decameron.—*Discorso*, p. xliii.

partiality.* But as this information, that in the beginning of the last century one would have been hooted at for pretending that Boccacio was not a good man, may seem to come from one of those enemies who are to be suspected, even when they make us a present of truth, a more acceptable contrast with the proscription of the body, soul, and muse of Boccacio may be found in a few words from the virtuous, the patriotic contemporary, who thought one of the tales of this impure writer worthy a Latin version from his own pen.

"I have remarked elsewhere," says Petrarch, writing to Boccacio, "that the book itself has been worried by certain dogs, but stoutly defended by your staff and voice. Nor was I astonished, for I have had proof of the vigour of your mind, and I know you have fallen on that unaccommodating, incapable race of mortals, who, whatever they either like not, or know not, or cannot do, are sure to reprehend in others; and on those occasions only put on a show of learning and eloquence, but otherwise are entirely dumb." †

It is satisfactory to find that all the priesthood do not resemble those of Certaldo, and that one of them who did not possess the bones of Boccacio would not lose the opportunity of raising a cenotaph to his memory. Bevius, canon of Padua, at the beginning of the 16th

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* *Eclaircissement*, &c. &c., p. 638, edit. Basle, 1741, in the Supplement to Bayle's Dictionary.

† "Animadverti alicubi librum ipsum canum dentibus lacessitum, tuo tamen baculo egregiè tuâque voce defensum. Nec miratus sum: nam et vires ingenii tui novi, et scio expertus esses hominum genus insolens et ignavum, qui quicquid ipsi vel nolunt vel nesciunt, vel non possunt, in aliis reprehendunt: ad hoc unum docti et arguti, sed elingues ad reliqua."—*Epist. Joan. Boccatio.* Opp. tom. i. p. 540, edit. Basil.

century erected at Arquà, opposite to the tomb of the Laureate, a tablet, in which he associated Boccacio to the equal honours of Dante and of Petrarch.*

The treatment which the remains and the memory of Boccacio received in late years is the more remarkable when it is known, as has been set forth in Foscolo's 'Discourse on the Text of the Decameron,' that, during the last year of his life, his "loving noble nature" was debased and saddened by the terrors of religion.† To such a degree, indeed, did these terrors affect him, that a monk having, on some pretended prophecy of a doubtful saint (Petroni), warned him to prepare for death, he communicated his fears to Petrarch, who endeavoured to reason him out of them, but in vain; for though he survived the prediction twelve years, not dying until 1376, he appears never to have recovered his former frame of mind; and the immortal novelist, the exposer of the frauds of the cloister, certified by his will, in his own handwriting, that he had "for a long time made search for holy relics in divers parts of the world," and bequeathed the fruits of his labours

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* "Danti Aldigerio, Francisco Petrarchæ, et Joanni Bocatio, viris ingenio eloquentiaque clarissimis, Italicæ linguæ parentibus," &c. &c.—See Bernardini Scardeonii, &c., *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii*, &c.; edit. 1560, p. 435.

† "Verso la fine dell' età sua la povertà che è piu grave nella vecchiaja, e lo stato turbolente di Firenze gli fecero rincrescere la vita sociale, e rifuggiva alla solitudine; ed allora l' anima sua generosa ed amabile era invilita e intristita da' terrori della religione."—*Discorso*, &c., tom. i. p. v., prefixed to the Decameron, 1825.

to a convent of monks. It is true that to a brother of this same convent he left all his books, on condition that the said Master Martin, of the order of the Frati Heremitani of St. Augustin and of the convent of Sto. Spirito of Florence, should pray for his soul, and allow any person who pleased to have copy of his books; a condition which convinced Foscolo that the autographs of the Decameron had been destroyed previously by Boccacio himself, for how could the repentant author have left his Tales as a legacy to his confessor for the use of his convent and for the express purpose of future publication to the world? It is, in fact, incredible that he should have done so almost at the same time that he denounced the Tales as of a nature to make the readers of them think the author as "spurgidum, lenonem, incestuosum senem, impurum hominem, turpiloquem, maledicum, et alienorum scelerum avidum relatorem;" * and he then adds the excuse, "non enim ubique est qui in excusationem meam consurgens dicat: juvenis scripsit, et majori coactus imperio." I repeat this excuse for the sake of noticing the conjecture of Foscolo, that the empire employed to force the author to write the indecent stories was that of a woman: † of which suggestion I shall only remark, that women are often made re-

* See the above-cited letter in Tiraboschi.

† "E diresti che le scrivesse indotto dal predominio d' una donna: forse quella ch' ei poco dopo rinnegò diffamendola nel LABERINTHO D' AMORE."—*Discorso*, p. ciii.

sponsible for the follies of men when no other excuse is ready to be found. The woman made responsible for Boccacio's sin appears, under the name of Fiametta, to have been Maria, a natural daughter of King Robert of Naples.*

The Italians, and more particularly the Tuscans, regarded the Decameron with a sort of superstitious reverence, as containing in itself almost every word required for the complete mastery and use of their Tuscan, or rather Florentine,† language.

MACHIAVELLI.

An Englishman was the first to attack the political writings of Machiavelli; an Englishman was the first to raise, after centuries of neglect, a monument over

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* Panizzi, p. 160, note; and previous note, p. 245.

† "Da prima a levarsi invidia dalle città Toscane, gli Academici tennero tre anni di consulte intorno al titolo del Vocabolario, e decretavono che si chiamasse *Della Lingua Toscana*. Poscia, affinchè tutto l' onore si rimanesse co' Fiorentini, v' aggiunsero, *Cavato dagli scrittori e uso della Città di Firenze.* Finalmente con politico lo nominarono *Vocabolario dell' Academia della Crusca*, senz' altro; così fu stampata, e la prima volta senz' altre voci se non ne nel Decamerone e di pochi scrittori contemporanei del Boccacio."—*Discorso*, p. xcix. Foscolo refers to Salviati's 'Avertimenti della Lingua sopra 'l Decamerone.' It is in two octavo volumes,—at least, such is my edition of it, published at Milan, 1809; and the twelfth chapter of the second book, vol. i. p. 195, gives a detailed account of the authors who with Boccacio belonged to what Salviati calls the "buon secolo." This is the title of it:—'Scrittori del buon' secolo, chi furono, e quali cose, e in che tempo scrisse ciascun di loro, e qual piu e qual meno sia da pregiare, e perchè.' Foscolo calls Salviati's work, somewhat ironically, a sort of evangelical preparation for the della Cruscan Vocabulary.

his ashes. The Anti-Machiavel of Cardinal Pole did not destroy his reputation, any more than the tablet of Lord Cowper has altogether cleared him from all reproach. Lord Bacon, not very long after the Cardinal denounced him, ranked him amongst the writers to whom the thanks of mankind were due; * but the true estimate of this great writer was reserved for our own times, when Guingené, Sismondi, Hallam, Macaulay, and a writer in the Biographie Universelle, made it pretty clear that the great Florentine secretary, like most other very distinguished men, was not altogether to be condemned, nor to be extolled as above all praise.

Guingené is right. It would have been more discreet to have omitted the first line of the epitaph in Sta. Croce.

"Nicholaus Machiavelli,
Obiit A.D.V. MDXXII."—

(had the date of his birth, 1469, been added) would

* Lord Bacon's praise of Machiavelli is couched in language which seems to allude only to narrative, and not to maxims or advice. His words are as follows:—"Nam sicut fabulose perhibetur de Basilisco si primus quisquiam conspexerit, illico hominem perimit, siquis illum prior, Basiliscus perit: pari ratione, fraudes, imposturæ, et malæ artes, si quis eas prior detexerit nocendi facultate privantur, quod si illæ prevenerint, tum vero, non alias, periculum crearit. Est itaque quod gratias agamus Machiavello, et hujusmodi scriptoribus, qui aperte et indissimulanter proferunt quid homines facere soleant non quid debeant."—*De Aug. Scient.*, lib. vii. cap. ii., edit. Lond. 1826, vol. vi. p. 333. Is it presumption to ask to whom Lord Bacon alluded by the phrase, "Machiavello et scriptoribus hujusmodi"? What other writers were like Machiavelli?

have been enough, without the upper line. The "*Tanto nomini nullum par elogium*" is not true, and it did not set at rest the controversy as to the merits and motives of the illustrious dead. Roscoe, who is not quite so much esteemed now as in his own day, denied him the possession of a great capacity and an enlarged view of human nature,—a judgment worthy of no other answer than a smile, says a celebrated Florentine contemporary of ours,* who, however, when he comes to the charges made against the morality of Machiavelli, only a few years after his death, by Varchi, merely remarks, "Non è qui "loco di rabattere queste accuse, e d' esaminare se nel "Machiavelli le doti dell' animo andarono del pari con "quelle della mente; solo dirò che nei pubblici affari si "portò con tale integrità che ei morendo lasciava in "somma povertà i suoi figli."† But no one ever accused Machiavelli of "robbing the Exchequer;" and, with Niccolini's pardon, it must be remarked, that it does not at all follow that a statesman has lived honestly because he has died poor. Indeed, Machiavelli was accused, probably falsely, with having dissipated his fortune in riotous living. Varchi, who lived in his time, being born in 1502, makes no such accusation,

* Niccolini's words are:—"Il Roscoe, fautore della Potenza Medicea, afferma che esso non era 'uomo di genio' (*Vita di Leon X.*). E a questa affermativa risponderemo con un sorriso." I do not find that Roscoe says this in so many words.

† Prose di Gio. Batista Niccolini, Firenze, 1823, vol. iii. p. 223.

but confines his censure to the 'PRINCE,' which he calls "Opera empia veramente, e da dover essere non solo biasimata ma spenta, come cercò di fare egli stesso dopo il rivolgimento dello stato, non essendo ancora stampata:" but he adds, "Era nondimeno il "Machiavelli nel conversar piacevole, officioso verso gli "amici, amico degli uomini virtuosi, ed, in somma, degno "che la natura gli avesse o minore ingegno o miglior "mente conceduto." * He mentions, however, as a fact, that both the good and the bad were rejoiced at his death: "Onde avenne nella morte di lui quello, che "sia ad avvenire impossibile, cioè che così se ne ralle-"grarono i buoni come i tristi, la qual cosa facevano i "buoni per giudicarlo tristo, ed i tristi per conoscerlo "non solamente piu tristo, ma eziandio piu valente di "loro." I cannot quite reconcile this record of Varchi with the assertion of our delightful historian and essayist, that "to those immoral doctrines which have since called forth such severe reprehensions no exception appears to have been taken. The cry against them was first raised beyond the Alps, and seems to have been heard with amazement in Italy." † It is true that Varchi's History was not published until 1721; but the fact recorded is contemporary with Machiavelli, and scarcely compatible with the alleged amaze-

* Storia Fiorentina, lib. iv. p. 211, edit. Milan, 1803.

† Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays, vol. i. p. 66, edit. 1843.

ment in Italy that any one should condemn his political doctrines.

Machiavelli, as is usual with those against whom no crime can be proved, was suspected of, and charged with, atheism. Paulus Jovius disgraces himself by this accusation; and the first and last most violent opposers of the 'Prince' were Jesuits, Father Possevin and Father Lucchesini; but the 'Anti-Machiavel,' published in 1576, was written by Gentillet, a French Protestant. This antidote was so little acceptable to the violent opponents of the Florentine, that Possevin attacked it, together with the 'Prince,' "ce qui est singulier," says Guingené. The other violent antagonist accused Machiavelli of folly, in a treatise which, however, was received with so little favour, that the booksellers made a jest of its very title.*

The motives of a writer cannot be inferred from the tendency of his works. The general lesson, or what is commonly called the moral, of a book, may be undeniably good, but the mode of treating the subject decidedly objectionable. The moral of 'Candide' is so similar to that of 'Rasselas,' that Johnson himself confessed that, if the two had not been published so closely that there was no time for imitation, it would have been in vain to deny that the scheme of that which came

* The title was, 'Sciocchezze scoperte nell' opere del Machiavelli dal P. Lucchesini.' "Les libraires, pour abréger le titre de cet opuscule Satirique, y mettaient simplement, dit-on, Sottises du P. Lucchesini."—*Hist. Lit. d'Ital.*, chap. xxii. sect. i. vol. viii. p. 77.

latest was taken from the other.* Yet how different the immediate motive and aim of the two authors! our good and great fellow countryman wanted money to pay for his mother's funeral and few debts—Voltaire had no such object in the composition of his "tableau épouvantablement gai des misères de la vie humaine." † Who can now read without a smile the Anti-Machiavel of Frederick of Prussia, and the flattery of his witty correspondent, when he assures his majesty that his comment on the 'Prince' ought to be "the catechism of kings and ministers"? It would be as difficult to prove that the motive of the king was good, as that the motive of Machiavelli was bad.

The author of the eulogium prefixed to the Milan edition of Machiavelli (1804) considers that he has clearly shown that the maxims of the 'Prince' were given insidiously to the Medicean family, inasmuch as he advised them to trust to the arms of their subjects for their defence, "quasi suggerendo loro in tal guisa "d' armare alla vendetta il braccio dei numerosi nemici "di un nuovo giogo;" a strange suggestion to be introduced into a professed panegyric, and which, to a certain extent, justifies the estimate apparently formed by Machiavelli himself of the political morality of his fellow countrymen.‡

* Boswell, Life, &c., vol. i. p. 185, edit. 4to, 1791.

† Anger. Bib. Un., art. Voltaire.

‡ But Signor Giov. Battista Baldelli, independently of this idle conjecture, is an unsafe guide, and Guingené has pointed out several errors in his facts.

This, at any rate, may be said of the political as well as the dramatic writings of Machiavelli, that what is good in them belonged to the man; and, perhaps, with some reserve, we may add, what is bad in them belonged to the age. I cannot understand how any one can read the 18th chapter of the 'Prince' without being convinced of this. Machiavelli tells us in so many words that his teaching is applicable to the bad part of mankind, not to the good,—"e se gli uomini fussero tutti buoni questo precetto non sara buono;" and, after being acquainted with the public morality of Machiavelli's contemporaries, I am no more astonished at the maxims of his 'Prince,' and other writings, than I am at the obscenities of his 'Mandragola' and 'Clizia.'

These dramas, displaying as they do more of the true "vis comica" than modern times had hitherto produced, were the delight of the most civilized portion of the Christian world, and were represented in the presence of cardinals and popes. Yet Mr. Hallam is surely justified in saying that "the story of the 'Mandragola' hardly bears to be told, although Guingené has done it." *

In regard to the motives which prompted the composition of the 'Prince,' the confession of Machiavelli himself ought to pass for something of value: and what does he say? he says that the 'Prince' was written to procure some employment under the Signori Medici,

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* Chap. viii. sect. ii. vol. i. p. 601, edit. 1837.

"were it only to roll a stone." * Guingené says, fairly enough, "c'était un homme libre dont les intentions dans cette circonstance furent cependant serviles, et un honnête homme qui croyait d'après les mœurs et les événements de son siècle pouvoir exclure la morale du gouvernement des états."† Nevertheless, with these personal objects, and this laxity in political morals, he doubtless combined that glorious aim fully disclosed in the last chapter of the 'Prince,' bearing for title 'Esortazione a liberare la Italia dai Barbari,' and concluding with a *libertine* excitement to the future redemption of Italy. "Non si deve adunque lasciar passare questa occasione, "acciocchè la Italia vegga dopo tanto tempo apparire un "suo redentore. Nè posso esprimere con qual amore ei "fusse ricevuto in tutte quelle provincie, che hanno patito "per queste illuvioni esterna, con qual sete di vendetta, "con che ostinata fede, con che lacrime. Quali porte se "li serrerebeno? Quali popoli li negherebbeno la obbe- "dienza? Quale Italiano li negherebbe l'ossequio? AD "OGNUNO PUZZA QUESTO BARBARO DOMINIO." ‡

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* See his Letter to Vettori in the 'Pensieri intorno allo scopo di Nicolo Machiavelli nel Libro di Principe,' by Angelo Ridolfi, published at Milan in 1810, and quoted in the article on Machiavelli in the Biog. Universelle.

† Chap. xxxi. sect. 1.

‡ Amongst the most enthusiastic admirers of Machiavelli must be reckoned Mr. Whiteside, who, after quoting from the preface to the edition of 1796, which embodies the principles of the great author, declares, "It would, I think, be difficult to find, out of the Scriptures, sounder doctrines for princes and people to act upon."—p. 315.

CHURCH OF ST. LORENZO.—THE MEDICI.

Our admiration for the Medici begins with Cosmo and expires with his grandson; that stream is pure only at the source; and it is in search of some memorial of the early representatives of the family that we visit the church of St. Lorenzo at Florence. The tawdry, glaring, unfinished chapel in that church, designed for the mausoleum of the Dukes of Tuscany, set round with crowns and coffins, gives birth to no emotions but those of contempt for the lavish vanity of a race of despots, whilst the pavement slab simply inscribed to the Father of his Country reconciles us to the name of Medici.* It was very natural for Corinna† to suppose that the statue raised to the Duke of Urbino in the *Capella de' Depositi* was intended for his great namesake; but the magnificent Lorenzo is only the sharer of a coffin half hidden in a niche of the sacristy.

The decay of Tuscany dates from the sovereignty of the Medici. Of the sepulchral peace which succeeded to the establishment of the reigning families in Italy, our own Sidney has given us a glowing, but a faithful picture. "Notwithstanding," says he, "all the seditions of Florence and other cities of Tuscany, the horrid factions of Guelphs and Ghibelins, Neri and Bianchi, nobles and

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* Cosmus Medices, Decreto Publico Pater Patriæ.

† Corinne, lib. xviii. cap. iii. vol. iii. p. 248.

commons, they continued populous, strong, and exceeding rich; but in the space of less than a hundred and fifty years the peaceable reign of the Medices is thought to have destroyed nine parts in ten of the people of that province. Amongst other things it is remarkable, that, when Philip II. of Spain gave Sienna to the Duke of Florence, his embassador then at Rome sent him word that he had given away more than 650,000 subjects; and it is not believed there are now 20,000 souls inhabiting that city and territory. Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo, Cortona, and other towns, that were then good and populous, are in the like proportion diminished, and Florence more than any. When that city had been long troubled with seditions, tumults, and wars, for the most part unprosperous, they still retained such strength, that when Charles VIII. of France, being admitted as a friend with his whole army, which soon after conquered the kingdom of Naples, thought to master them, the people, taking arms, struck such a terror into him, that he was glad to depart upon such conditions as they thought fit to impose. Machiavel reports, that in that time Florence alone, with the Val d'Arno, a small territory belonging to that city, could, in a few hours, by the sound of a bell, bring together 135,000 well-armed men; whereas now that city, with all the others in that province, are brought to such despicable weakness, emptiness, poverty, and baseness, that they can neither resist the oppressions of their own prince, nor defend him or themselves if they were assaulted by a foreign

enemy. The people are dispersed or destroyed, and the best families sent to seek habitations in Venice, Genoa, Rome, Naples, and Lucca. This is not the effect of war or pestilence; they enjoy a perfect peace, and suffer no other plague than the government they are under." *

From the usurper Cosmo down to the imbecile Gaston, we look in vain for any of those unmixed qualities which should raise a patriot to the command of his fellow citizens. The Grand Dukes, and particularly the third Cosmo, had operated so entire a change in the Tuscan character, that the candid Florentines, in excuse for some imperfections in the philosophic system of the virtuous Leopold, are obliged to confess that the sovereign was the only liberal man in his dominions. Yet that excellent prince himself had no other notion of a national assembly than of a body to represent the wants and wishes, not to enforce the will, of the people.

The latter portion of the first volume of the before-quoted work, 'Italy in the Nineteenth Century,' by Mr. Whiteside, the present eloquent Attorney-General for Ireland, is devoted to what he calls "a Sketch of Florentine History and of the Medici," and a very amusing sketch it is, although the clever author is, perhaps, a little too ironically facetious with regard to

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* On Government, chap. ii. sect. xxvi. p. 208, edit. 1751. Sidney is, together with Locke and Hoadley, one of David Hume's "*despicable*" writers.

"the crafty apothecary" and the "pill-box" which "flourished on the crest of these humble followers of Galen." * Mr. Whiteside takes the decided republican view of the controversy as to the merits of the family, all of whom, including the Father of his Country,† he considers as little better than clever impostors, bent principally, if not solely, upon their own aggrandisement.

Mr. Whiteside's book was published in 1848, as appears not only by the title-page, but by many reflections referring to the politics of that day, and showing no great respect for those who then reigned in any part of Europe. The learned gentleman may now, perhaps, smile at reading his own sketch of the alliance between Filippo Strozzi and that Alessandro de' Medici whom he calls the Negro. "Yet this Strozzi aided the mis-

* Italy in the Nineteenth Century, p. 230, vol. i.

† Subjoined are a few extracts from the Sketch:—"Such was the infamous behaviour of one of the best of the Medici, called, as I have said, 'the Father of his Country.'"[a] "It is satisfactory to know that his detestable character," says Mr. Whiteside, speaking of Pietro, son of Cosmo, "became perfectly understood and hated by his countrymen."[b] Of the magnificent Lorenzo, with many similar compliments, he says:—"In Florence this polished despot carefully considered how best he could permanently enslave his beautiful country."[c] And again:—"The policy of this excellent man, Lorenzo de' Medici, was to ally himself with despotic sovereigns, and plot against free republics."[d] Every other member of the family comes in for his share of reproach; and, to say the truth, it now appears most surprising that any of them should have found so good a man as Roscoe amongst their panegyrists.—(1858.)

[a] Italy, &c., p. 237, vol. i.
[b] Ibid., p. 239.
[c] Ibid., p. 254.
[d] Ibid., p. 257.

creant Alessandro in building a citadel to overcome the citizens, like the fortifications of Paris," &c. &c., p. 326.

The judgment of Massimo Azeglio on the Medici is given in a few words introduced into his description of the vicissitudes which the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence has witnessed and survived.

"Interrogai il Palazzo Vecchio, antico ed immoto testimonio di tanti trionfi, di tante rovine, che vide sorgere e cadere tante fortune; che dall' alto de' suoi merli Guelfi vide oppresso il Duca d'Atene, vincitori i Ciampi, arso Fra Girolamo, stracinato il cadavere di Jacopo de' Pazzi, *calpestata tre volte l' idra Medicea, e tre volte risorta; che sopravisse alla republica, la vide vendicata nelle impure e sanguinose vicende della razza di Cosimo spenta vilmente dopo dugent' anni.*" *

I cannot quote the writings of this excellent man without lamenting that he should have had so little time to study the past history and present condition of the United Kingdom, that he does not scruple to speak of the grievances of Ireland and of Poland as being of the same nature, and concludes that, because they suffer more, and more worthily and with more endurance, than the Italians, Ireland and Poland have obtained the esteem, sympathy, and good wishes of the whole civilized world.

"E l' Irlanda, la Polonia, perchè l' ottengono? Perche soffrono più di noi, e più degnamente, più osservìamente di noi. L'opinione, la simpatia, il vote della civiltà intera sta per loro, e sono pure oggidi i potenti alleati! E di noi? Di noi si ride." †

It would be cruel to impute as a fault to Azeglio

* Nicolò de' Lapi, Prefazione, p. 6, edit. Firenze, 1850.

† Degli ultimi casi di Romagna, Torino, 1850, p. 18.

that he took a very sanguine view of the prospects of Italy in 1847 and 1848; but it is impossible not to be amused with the prophetic exultation of his 'Proposta di un Programma per l'Opinione Nazionale Italiana.'

"Ci sembra," says he, "veder avvicinarsi rapidamente l'epoca in cui le nazioni saranno le più sicure basi de' troni e la cura de' loro interessi il più securo pegno di sicurezza e stabilità. Questa verità riconosciuta e posta in pratica da Pio IX. e stata luminosamente compravata dall'esperienza in un anno solo; e quel trono che vacillava sotto i suoi piedi quando vi saliva, e oggi il più sicuro e stabile d'Europa." *

INGRATITUDE OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS.

Ingratitude is generally supposed the vice peculiar to republics; and it seems to be forgotten that for one instance of popular inconstancy, we have a hundred examples of the fall of courtly favourites. Besides, a people have often repented—a monarch seldom or never. Leaving apart many familiar proofs of this fact, a short story may show the difference between even an aristocracy and the multitude.

Vettor Pisani, having been defeated in 1354 at Portolongo, and many years afterwards in the more decisive action of Pola, by the Genoese, was recalled by the Venetian government, and thrown into chains. The Avvogadori proposed to behead him, but the supreme tribunal was content with the sentence of imprisonment. Whilst Pisani was suffering this unmerited disgrace,

* Raccolta degli scritti politici di Massimo Azeglio, p. 229.

Chioza, in the vicinity of the capital, was, by the assistance of the *Signor of Padua*, delivered into the hands of Pietro Doria. At the intelligence of that disaster, the great bell of St. Mark's tower tolled to arms, and the people and the soldiery of the galleys were summoned to the repulse of the approaching enemy; but they protested they would not move a step, unless Pisani were liberated and placed at their head. The great council was instantly assembled: the prisoner was called before them, and the Doge, Andrea Contarini, informed him of the demands of the people and the necessities of the state, whose only hope of safety was reposed on his efforts, and who implored him to forget the indignities he had endured in her service. "I have submitted," replied the magnanimous republican, "I have submitted to your deliberations without complaint; I have supported patiently the pains of imprisonment, for they were inflicted at your command: this is no time to inquire whether I deserved them—the good of the republic may have seemed to require it, and that which the republic resolves is always resolved wisely. Behold me ready to lay down my life for the preservation of my country." Pisani was appointed generalissimo, and by his exertions, in conjunction with those of Carlo Zeno, the Venetians soon recovered the ascendancy over their maritime rivals.

The Italian communities were no less unjust to their citizens than the Greek republics. Liberty, both with the one and the other, seems to have been a national,

not an individual object: and, notwithstanding the boasted *equality before the laws* which an ancient Greek writer* considered the great distinctive mark between his countrymen and the barbarians, the mutual rights of fellow-citizens seem never to have been the principal scope of the old democracies. The Italians, however, when they had ceased to be free, still looked back with a sigh upon those times of turbulence, when every citizen might rise to a share of sovereign power, and they have never been taught fully to appreciate the repose of a monarchy. Sperone Speroni, when Francis Maria II. Duke of Rovere proposed the question, "which was preferable, the republic or the principality —the perfect and not durable, or the less perfect and not so liable to change," replied, "that our happiness is to be measured by its quality, not by its duration; and that he preferred to live for one day like a man, than for a hundred years like a brute, a stock, or a stone." This was thought, and called, a *magnificent* answer, down to the last days of Italian servitude.†

ALFIERI.

Alfieri is the great name of this age. The Italians, without waiting for the hundred years, consider him as "a poet good in law."—His memory is the more dear to

* The Greek boasted that he was *ἰσονόμος*. See the last chapter of the first book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

† "E intorno *alla magnifica risposta*," &c.—Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, lib. iii. p. 149, tom. ii. edit. 2, Bergamo.

them because he is the bard of freedom; and because, as such, his tragedies can receive no countenance from any of their sovereigns. They are but very seldom, and but very few of them, allowed to be acted. It was observed by Cicero that nowhere were the true opinions and feelings of the Romans so clearly shown as at the theatre.* In the autumn of 1816 a celebrated improvisatore exhibited, as before mentioned,† his talents at the Opera-house of Milan. The reading of the theses handed in for the subjects of his poetry was received by a very numerous audience, for the most part in silence, or with laughter; but when the assistant, unfolding one of the papers, exclaimed, "The apotheosis of Victor Alfieri," the whole theatre burst into a shout, and the applause was continued for some moments. The lot did not fall on Alfieri; and the Signor Sgricci had to pour forth his extemporary commonplaces on the bombardment of Algiers. The choice, indeed, is not

* The free expression of their honest sentiments survived their liberties. Titius, the friend of Antony, presented them with games in the theatre of Pompey. They did not suffer the brilliancy of the spectacle to efface from their memory that the man who furnished them with the entertainment had murdered the son of Pompey: they drove him from the theatre with curses. The moral sense of a populace, spontaneously expressed, is never wrong. Even the soldiers of the triumvirs joined in the execration of the citizens, by shouting round the chariots of Lepidus and Plancus, who had proscribed their brothers, *De Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant Consules*—a saying worth a record, were it nothing but a good pun. —C. Vell. Paterculi Hist., lib. ii. cap. lxxix. p. 78, edit. Elzevir, 1639.

† See Chap. III. of this volume.

left to accident quite so much as might be thought from a first view of the ceremony; and the police not only takes care to look at the papers beforehand, but, in case of any prudential after-thought, steps in to correct the blindness of chance. The proposal for deifying Alfieri was received with immediate enthusiasm, the rather because it was conjectured there would be no opportunity of carrying it into effect.

The following anecdotes of Alfieri are from an authentic source, and appear worthy of record. The poet was one evening at the house of the Princess Carignani, and leaning, in one of his silent moods, against a side-board decorated with a rich tea-service of china, by a sudden movement of his long loose tresses, threw down one of the cups. The lady of the mansion ventured to tell him that he had spoilt her set, and had better have broken them all; but the words were no sooner said, than Alfieri, without replying or changing countenance, swept off the whole service upon the floor. His hair was fated to bring another of his eccentricities into play; for, being alone at the theatre at Turin, and hanging carelessly with his head backwards over the corner of his box, a lady in the next seat on the other side of the partition, who had, on other occasions, made several attempts to attract his attention, broke into violent and repeated encomiums on his auburn locks, which were flowing down close to her hand. Alfieri spoke not a word, and continued in his posture until he left the theatre. The lady received the next morning a

parcel, the contents of which she found to be the tresses she had so much admired, and which the count had cut off close to his head. There was no billet with the present, but words could not have more clearly expostulated, "*If you like the hair, here it is, but for heaven's sake leave me alone.*"

Alfieri employed a respectable young man at Florence to assist him in his Greek translations, and the manner in which that instruction was received was not a little eccentric. The tutor slowly read aloud and translated the Greek author, and Alfieri, with his pencil and tablets in hand, walked about the room and put down his version. This he did without speaking a word, and when he found his preceptor reciting too quickly, or when he did not understand the passage, he held up his pencil,—this was the signal for repetition, and the last sentence was slowly recited, or the reading was stopped, until a tap from the poet's pencil on the table warned the translator that he might continue his lecture. The lesson began and concluded with a slight and silent obeisance, and during the twelve or thirteen months of instruction the count scarcely spoke as many words to the assistant of his studies. The Countess of Albany, however, on receiving something like a remonstrance against this reserve, assured the young man that the count had the highest esteem for him and his services. But it is not to be supposed that the master felt much regret at giving his last lesson to so Pythagorean a pupil. The same gentleman described the poet as one whom he had seldom

heard speak in any company, and as seldom seen smile. His daily temper depended not a little upon his favourite horse, whom he used to feed out of his hand, and ordered to be led out before him every morning. If the animal neighed, or replied to his caresses with any signs of pleasure, his countenance brightened, but the insensibility of the horse was generally followed by the dejection of the master.

The tomb of Alfieri in the Santa Croce is one of the least successful productions of Canova. The whole monument is heavy, and projects itself into the aisle of the church more prominently than becomes the associate of the more retiring but richer sepulchres of Michael Angelo and Machiavelli. The colossal Cybele of Italy, weeping over a medallion in low relief, shows the difficulty of doing justice to the mourner and the monument, and may besides be mistaken for the princess of the house of Stolberg, whose name and title have left little room on the inscription for Alfieri himself. They show a little step opposite to the monument, on which the princess herself periodically contemplates her own work and that of Canova. The grief of an amiable woman for the loss of an accomplished man may be expected to endure; and, to say the truth, the other sex has too long wanted a "contrast"* to the twice retold tale of the Ephesian matron.

* In the former edition the word "pendant" was used; and when I revisited Florence I found that my informant and Madame Albany

MADAME DE STAEL.

Santa Croce will recall the memory not only of those whose tombs have made this church the centre of pilgrimage, the Mecca of Italy, but of her whose eloquence was puffed over the illustrious ashes, and whose voice is now as mute as those she sung. CORINNA is no more; and with her should expire the fear, the flattery, and the envy, which threw too dazzling or too dark a cloud round the march of genius, and forbad the steady gaze of disinterested criticism. We have her picture embellished or distorted, as friendship or detraction has held the pencil: the impartial portrait was hardly to be expected from a contemporary. The immediate voice of her survivors will, it is probable, be far from affording a just estimate of her singular capacity. The gallantry, the love of wonder, and the hope of associated fame, which blunted the edge of censure, must cease to exist. The dead have no sex; they can surprise by no new miracles; they can confer no privilege: Corinna has ceased to be a woman—she is only an author: and it may be foreseen that many

herself were very indignant at the phrase. The fact was, I thought "pendant" might be used in the sense of "contrast," just as Horne Tooke called his contrast "a pair of portraits." My informant was the young man mentioned in these anecdotes as assisting the poet in learning Greek; and nothing was farther from my thoughts than saying anything which might compromise him with his patroness or offend the lady herself. A celebrated Irish lady asked Madame Albany before much company if she had read the notes to 'Childe Harold.' The princess gave her no answer, and never asked her to her house again.

will repay themselves for former complaisance by a severity to which the extravagance of previous praises may perhaps give the colour of truth. The latest posterity, for to the latest posterity they will assuredly descend, will have to pronounce upon her various productions; and the longer the vista through which they are seen, the more accurately minute will be the object, the more certain the justice, of the decision. She will enter into that existence in which the great writers of all ages and nations are, as it were, associated in a world of their own, and, from that superior sphere, shed their eternal influence for the control and consolation of mankind. But the individual will gradually disappear as the author is more distinctly seen: some one, therefore, of all those whom the charms of involuntary wit, and of easy hospitality, attracted within the friendly circles of Coppet, should rescue from oblivion those virtues which, although they are said to love the shade, are, in fact, more frequently chilled than excited by the domestic cares of private life. Some one should be found to portray the unaffected graces with which she adorned those dearer relationships, the performance of whose duties is rather discovered amongst the interior secrets than seen in the outward management of family intercourse; and which, indeed, it requires the delicacy of genuine affection to qualify for the eye of an indifferent spectator. Some one should be found, not to celebrate, but to describe, the amiable mistress of an open mansion, the centre of a society, ever varied, and always pleased, the creator

of which, divested of the ambition and the arts of public rivalry, shone forth only to give fresh animation to those around her. The mother, tenderly affectionate and tenderly beloved, the friend unboundedly generous, but still esteemed, the charitable patroness of all distress, cannot be forgotten by those whom she cherished, and protected, and fed. Her loss will be mourned the most where she was known the best; and, to the sorrows of very many friends and more dependants, may be offered the disinterested regret of a stranger, who, amidst the sublimer scenes of the Leman Lake, received his chief satisfaction from contemplating the engaging qualities of the incomparable Corinna.*

ROADS FROM FLORENCE TO ROME—THRASIMENE.

I have travelled the road by Perugia and the road by Sienna several times, and I prefer the former, although the railroad gives greater advantages by the latter route. My first journey in 1816, and my last in 1854, took me through that part of Tuscany which has been well described by a recent traveller as being "cultivated, as far "as possible, as a beautiful garden; the lands at either "side of the road from Cortona to Florence (some sixty "miles) present a picture of cleanliness, skill, variety of "tillage, comfort in the dwellings and appearance of the

* This and the following account of Thrasimene are quoted in the guide-books as having been written by Lord Byron—a mistake not discreditable to the author.

"people, not to be surpassed in any part of Europe."* This appeared to me to be true at my last visit. Political changes had passed over the land and left no trace observable by a mere traveller. I was not, indeed, on the look-out for symptoms of discontent, but recurred rather to my former pursuits, and, descending from the hills that skirt the Lake of Perugia on the Roman frontier, again examined the site of the ever memorable battle of Thrasimene. But that site is more easily recognisable by any one coming from the Tuscan frontier, and cannot be mistaken. The traveller from the village under Cortona to Casa di Piano, the next stage on the way to Rome, has, for the first two or three miles, around him, but more particularly to the right, that flat land which Hannibal laid waste in order to induce the Consul Flaminius to move from Arezzo. On his left, and in front of him, is a ridge of hills, bending down towards the Lake of Thrasimene, called by Livy "montes Cortonenses," and now named the Gualandra. These hills he approaches at Ossaja, a village which the itineraries pretend to have been so denominated from the bones found there: but there have been no bones found there, and the battle was fought on the other side of the hill.† From Ossaja the road begins to rise a little, but does not pass into the roots of

* Whiteside, Italy in the Nineteenth Century, vol. i. p. 115.

† And, besides this fact, Niebuhr says that the name should be Orsaia, from the Orsi family.

the mountains until the sixty-seventh milestone from Florence.* The ascent thence is not steep but perpetual, and continues for twenty minutes. The lake is soon seen below on the right, with Borghetto, a round tower, close upon the water; and the undulating hills partially covered with wood, amongst which the road winds, sink by degrees into the marshes near to this tower. Lower than the road, down to the right amidst these woody hillocks, Hannibal placed his horse,† in the jaws of, or rather above, the pass, which was between the lake and the present road, and most probably close to Borghetto, just under the lowest of the "tumuli."‡ On a summit to the left, above the road, is an old circular ruin which the peasants call "the Tower of Hannibal the Carthaginian." Arrived at the highest point of the road, the traveller has a partial view of the fatal plain which opens fully upon him as he descends the Gualandra. He soon finds himself in a vale enclosed

* This was an accurate description of the road in 1816. At present it passes nearer to the lake, and more at the foot than on the declivities of the hills, probably about the pass where Flaminius entered the plain. The sixty-seventh milestone now is not near Ossaja, but Camuscia under Cortona. I remarked also, in 1854, that Passignano is not at the very end of the lake, but just at the foot of the hills which enclose the plain on the side of Perugia. The best view of the site of the battle is from the Papal custom-house close to the Tuscan frontier in the Gualandra hills.

† "Equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat."—T. Livii, lib. xxii. cap. iv.

‡ "Ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Thrasimenus subit."—Ibid.

to the left and in front and behind him by the Gualandra hills, bending round in a segment larger than a semicircle, and running down at each end to the lake, which obliques to the right and forms the chord of this mountain arc. The position cannot be guessed at from the plains of Cortona, nor appears to be so completely enclosed unless to one who is fairly within the hills. It then, indeed, appears "a place made as it were on purpose for a snare," *locus insidiis natus.* "Borghetto is then found to stand in a narrow marshy pass close to the hill and to the lake, whilst there is no other outlet at the opposite turn of the mountains than through the little town of Passignano, which is pushed into the water by the foot of a high rocky acclivity."* There is a woody eminence branching down from the mountains into the upper end of the plain nearer to the side of Passignano, and on this stands a white village called Torre. Polybius seems to allude to this eminence as the one on which Hannibal encamped and drew out his heavy-armed Africans and Spaniards in a conspicuous position.† From this spot he despatched his Balearic and light-armed troops round through the Gualandra heights to the right, so as to arrive unseen and form an

* "Inde colles assurgunt."—T. Livii, lib. xxii.

† Τὸν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον αὐτὸς κατελάβετο καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τοὺς Ἰβῆρας ἔχων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε.—*Hist.*, lib. iii. cap. 83. The account in Polybius is not so easily reconcileable with present appearances as that in Livy: he talks of hills to the right and left of the pass and valley; but when Flaminius entered he had the lake at the right of both.

ambush amongst the broken acclivities which the road now passes, and to be ready to act upon the left flank and above the enemy, whilst the horse shut up the pass behind. Flaminius came to the lake near Borghetto at sunset; and, without sending any spies before him, marched through the pass the next morning before the day had quite broken, so that he perceived nothing of the horse and light troops above and about him, and saw only the heavy-armed Carthaginians in front on the hill of Torre.* The Consul began to draw out his army in the flat, and in the mean time the horse in ambush occupied the pass behind him at Borghetto. Thus the Romans were completely enclosed, having the lake on the right, the main army on the hill of Torre in front, the Gualandra hills filled with the light-armed on their left flank, and being prevented from receding by the cavalry, who, the farther they advanced, stopped up all the outlets in the rear. A fog rising from the lake now spread itself over the army of the Consul, but the high lands were in the sunshine, and all the different corps in ambush looked towards the hill of Torre for the order of attack. Hannibal gave the signal, and moved down from his post on the height. At the same moment all his troops on the eminences behind and in the flank of Flaminius rushed forwards as it were with one accord into the plain. The Romans, who were forming their array in the mist, suddenly heard the shouts of the

* "A tergo et super caput decepere insidiæ."—T. Liv., &c.

enemy amongst them, on every side, and before they could fall into their ranks, or draw their swords, or see by whom they were attacked, felt at once that they were surrounded and lost.

There are two little rivulets which run from the Gualandra into the lake. The traveller crosses the first of these at about a mile after he comes into the plain, and this divides the Tuscan from the Papal territories. The second, about a quarter of a mile further on, is called "the bloody rivulet," and the peasants point out an open spot to the left between the "Sanguinetto" and the hills, which, they say, was the principal scene of slaughter. The other part of the plain is covered with thick-set olive-trees in corn-grounds, and is nowhere quite level except near the edge of the lake. It is, indeed, most probable that the battle was fought near this end of the valley, for the six thousand Romans, who, at the beginning of the action, broke through the enemy, escaped to the summit of an eminence which must have been in this quarter, otherwise they would have had to traverse the whole plain and to pierce through the main army of Hannibal.

The Romans fought desperately for three hours, but the death of Flaminius was the signal for a general dispersion. The Carthaginian horse then burst in upon the fugitives, and the lake, the marsh about Borghetto, but chiefly the plain of the Sanguinetto and the passes of the Gualandra, were strewed with dead. Near some old walls on a bleak ridge to the left above the rivulet

many human bones have been repeatedly found, and this has confirmed the pretensions and the name of the "stream of blood."

Every district of Italy has its hero. In the north some painter is the usual genius of the place, and the foreign Julio Romano more than divides Mantua with her native Virgil.* To the south we hear of Roman names. Near Thrasimene tradition is still faithful to the fame of an enemy, and Hannibal the Carthaginian is the only ancient name remembered on the banks of the Perugian lake. Flaminius is unknown; but the postilions on that road have been taught to show the very spot where *il Console Romano* was slain. Of all who fought and fell in the battle of Thrasimene, the historian himself has, besides the generals and Maharbal, preserved indeed only a single name.† You overtake the Carthaginian again on the same road to Rome. The antiquary, that is, the hostler, of the posthouse at Spoleto, tells you that his town repulsed the victorious enemy, and shows you the gate still called *Porta di Annibale.* It is hardly worth while to remark that a French travel-writer, well known by the name of the President Dupaty, saw Thrasimene in the lake of Bolsena, which lay conveniently on his way from Sienna to Rome.

* About the middle of the twelfth century the coins of Mantua bore on one side the image and figure of Virgil.—Zecca d' Italia, pl. xvii. i. 6. Voyage dans le Milanais, &c., par A. Z. Millin., tom. ii. p. 294 : Paris, 1817.

† "Ducario, Insuber eques," who, before he killed Flaminius, made a short speech, given by Livy ! !

THE CLITUMNUS.

The Clitumnus rises at *Le Vene di Campello,* or *di Piscignano.* In the territory of Trevi and that of Foligno it is called the "Clitunno," and lower down in its course assumes the name of *La Timmia.* Antiquaries have been careful to measure the exact size of its original fountain, which they find to be eleven Roman palms and ten inches long, and one palm seven inches and a half wide. This source pours from beneath a blind arch in the high road from Foligno to Spoleto, half a mile from the post-house of Le Vene, and, gushing into a thousand blue eddies, is soon lost in a bed of giant reeds. The peasants of the neighbourhood say that the stream has many fountains; and, although no where in the immediate vicinity it is wider than a millbrook, is in many places unfathomable. The Clitumnus has been sung by most of the poets from Virgil to Claudian. The Umbrian Jupiter bore the same name; and either he or the river-god himself inspired an oracle which gave answers by lots, and which was consulted by Caligula.* There were festivals celebrated by the people of the neighbouring Hispellum in honour of this deity.† When

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* Sueton. in Vita Calig.

† Gori. Mus. Etrus., tom. ii. p. 66. "Clitumnalia sacra apud Hispellates in ejus honorem celebrata fuisse, constat auctoritate hujus vetustæ aræ, eidem dedicata, quæ inter Gudianas vulgata est." —Edit. Florent., 1737.

Pliny the younger saw and described the Clitumnus, the fountain spread at once into a considerable river,* capable of bearing two laden boats abreast;† but it is thought has been shrunk by the great earthquake in 446, which shook Constantinople for six months, and was violently felt in many parts of Italy. The "glassy Fucine lake, the sea-green Anio, the sulphureous Nar, the clear Faberis, and the turbid Tyber," are, with the cold Clitumnus, known to have been affected by this tremendous convulsion.‡ Hence, perhaps, the holes which are said to be unfathomable. It has, however, been always honourably mentioned amongst the rivers of Italy;§ and if the little temple on its banks was not thrown down, the effects of the earthquake could not have been very important. With respect to this temple, now a church dedicated to the Saviour, which is seen a few paces before you come to the principal source, some doubts have been entertained of its antiquity by a late English traveller,

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* "Fons adhuc et jam amplissimum flumen."—*Epist. ad Romanum*, lib. viii. epist. viii.

† "Naveis tamen ne heic intelligas majores sed scaphas tantum."—P. Cluverii, *Italiæ Antiquæ*, lib. ii. cap. x. tom. i. p. 702, edit. Elzev.

‡ Sidon. Apollinar., lib. i. epist. v.

§ Boccacio de Flum. in verb. Clitum. "Clitumnus Umbriæ fluvius apud Mevaniam et Spoletum defluens, ex quo (ut quidam volunt), si confertim postquam concepit bos bibat, album pariet. Quam ob rem Romani magnas hostias Jovi immolaturi ad hunc locum per albis tauris mittebant. Hunc alii fontem alii lacum dicunt."—*Lib. de Geneal. Deorum*, in fin, edit. Princ.

who is very seldom sceptical out of place.* Fabretti, in his inscriptions,† had before asserted that it had been built from ancient fragments by the Christians, who baptized it, sculptured the grapes on the tympanum, and added the steps. Mr. Forsyth's objection can, however, in this instance, perhaps, be removed by the mention of a fact with which he appears to have been unacquainted. The inside of the temple described by Pliny was "bescratched with the nonsense of an album," and of this record no vestiges were seen by our acute traveller: nor could they, for the whole of the interior of the chapel is allowed to have been modernized when the altar niche was added at the conversion of the structure, and any ancient remnants then left within were carried away when it was reduced to its present appearance in the middle of the last century. The sculpture of the columns, singular as it is, can scarcely be made a valid objection. Palladio calls it most delicate and beautifully various; ‡ and if what appears in his drawings vine-leaves be in reality, as Venuti asserts,§ and as they seem to be, fish-scales, the workmanship may have

* Remarks on Italy, &c., p. 320, sec. edit.

† Inscrip., p. 38. See Osservazioni, &c., p. 61, ut inf.

‡ "Lavorate delicatissimamente e con bella varietà d' intagli."—*Ichnog. de' Temp.*, lib. iv. p. 2, cap. xxv., *del Tempio ch' e sotto Trevi*, tom. vi. p. 10, Ven. 1745. The plates are not at all recognisable.

§ Osservazioni sopra il fiume Clitunno, dall' Abate Ridolpho Venuti, Cortonese, a Roma, 1753.

some allusion to the river-god. The above great architect saw this temple entire, and made five designs of it.* What remains, which is only the western portico and the exterior of the cell, is certainly a part of the temple seen by him, and called by Cluverius one of the Fanes of Jupiter Clitumnus.† It appears the Fane preserved the form copied by Palladio down to 1730, when an earthquake broke off a piece of the cornice; and even in 1739 it had not been reduced to the ruin in which Venuti saw it, and which seems to differ but little from its present condition.‡ The chapel belonged formerly to the community of Trevi, but about the year 1420 they lost it together with the castle of Piscignano, and it became a simple ecclesiastical benefice of ten or twelve crowns annual rent attached to the Dateria at Rome. In 1730 it was intrusted to a brother Hilarion, who, under the pretext of repairing it, made a bargain with Benedetti, Bishop of Spoleto, to furnish him with a portion of the columns and marbles for three-and-twenty crowns. The community of Piscignano opposed this spoliation for some time, and an order was even procured from Pope

* See Ichonog., ut sup.

† P. Cluverii, Italiæ Antiquæ, ut sup. Sacraria ista nulla alia fuêre, nisi quæ ab initio ad varios Clitumni fontes variis Jovis Clitumni nominibus numinibusque posita, ea haud dubie postea in Christianæ religionis usum conversa. His annotator Holstenius also believed it most ancient, Annot. ad Cluv. Geog., p. 123.

‡ "La facciata che vedesi verso Ponente è l' unica che sia rimasta illesa dal furore degl' ignoranti."—See ut sup., p. 45.

Clement XII. to prevent it. But Monsignore Ancajani, then Bishop of Spoleto, confirmed the sale, laughed at the injunction, and said the marbles were but *old stones;** consequently the hermit, brother Paul, who had been left by Hilarion, fell to work, demolished great part of the porticoes, and sold four of the columns for eighteen crowns to the Signori Fontani of Spoleto, who used them in building a family chapel in the Philippine church of that town.† In 1748 the same brother Paul, looking for a fancied treasure, broke his way through the interior of the chapel and tore up part of the subterranean cell, of which pious researches there are the marks at this day. Whatever remained of marble in the inside of the structure was then carried away, and it was with much difficulty that the remaining portico was saved from the hands of the hermit.‡ The reader is requested to bear in mind this transaction of two bishops and two holy brothers,

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* "Quale se ne rise, dicendo essere *sassacci*, e seguito il frate a demolire e portar via."—See *Osservazioni*, ut sup.

† "Distruttore di questa fabbrica è stato un certo Eremita Chiamato Fra Paolo, che le ha venduté (4 colonne) per soli diecidotto scudi ai Fontanini di Spoleto, che se ne sono serviti per fare una loro cappella in onore di St. Filippo."—*Lettera MS. del Conte Giacomo Valenti, ap. Venut. Osservazioni*, &c., p. 49.

‡ ". . . and the statue of the god (the Clitumnus) has yielded its place to the triumphant cross. This circumstance is rather fortunate, as to it the temple owes its preservation."—*Classical Tour through Italy*, chap. ix. tom. i. p. 321, 3rd edit. Mr. Eustace was innocent of all knowledge of the above fact; otherwise, though a zealous crusader, he would not have stuck his triumphant cross on the Clitumnus.

executed in spite of the most respectable opposition in the middle of the last century. It may assist his conjectures when he comes to estimate the probable merits of the Christian clergy, who are said to have been so instrumental during the dark ages in preserving the relics of Rome. The Abate of Cortona talks with indignation of the offence,* and concludes with a prayer to Benedict XIV. to recover the pillage, and replace the columns and marbles on their ancient base. Indeed the spoilers were guilty not only of a crime against the antiquary, but of sacrilege. Clitumnus could not be expected to deter brother Hilarion and brother Paul, but the name of our Saviour might. Benedict XIV. did not listen to the Abate, and we see the temple as it was left by the honest hermit.

It should seem then that the little portico and the form at least of the cell belong to an ancient temple, and probably to that of the Clitumnus, if not to one of the many chapels which were near the principal fane.† There were formerly vestiges of two other small ancient structures,‡ which had not entirely disappeared when Venuti wrote, and had given to a spot above the church the name *ad sacraria.* The counts

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* "E quello non hanno fatto i Goti nelle incursione, l'hanno fatto quelli, che non s' intendono d' antichità."—*Osservazioni*, &c., ut sup.

† "Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura."—*Plin. Epist.*, &c.

‡ Holstenius Annot. ad Geog. Cluv., p. 123.

Valenti di Trevi found also the statue of a river-god near the chapel, and placed it in their collection. Add to this that the names * still seen on the roof of the subterranean cell belonged probably to those who had consulted the oracle, and that there can be no doubt of the antiquity of that *adytus*, although it is half blocked up and defaced by the excavations of brother Paul. The cypress grove which shaded the hill above the source of the river has disappeared, but the water still preserves the ancient property of producing some of the finest trout to be met with in Italy.†

TERNI.

The fall looks so much like what Lord Byron called "the hell of waters," that Addison thought it might be the gulf through which Alecto plunged into the infernal regions. It is singular enough that two of the finest cascades in Europe should be artificial—this of the Velino, and the one at Tivoli. The traveller is strongly recommended to trace the Velino, at least as high as the little lake called *Pie' di Lup*. The Reatine

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* T. SEPTIMIVS BIDIA. L. F.
PLEBEIVS POLLA

The temple of the oracle of Memnon in Upper Egypt was full of such inscriptions.—See *Osservazioni*, &c., p. 56.

† Alas for the temple, and the fountain, and the stream, and the vale of the Clitumnus! A mill and manufactory have been established immediately below the little chapel; and in 1854 I scarcely recognised the spot which had inspired Lord Byron, and charmed me so much, in 1816.

territory was the Italian Tempe,* and the ancient naturalist, amongst other beautiful varieties, remarked the daily rainbows of the lake Velinus.† A scholar of great name has devoted a treatise to this district alone.‡

In March 1854 I passed a week at Terni, and walked several times up the valley of the Velino. The best view of the fall is obtained by descending the hill at Papigno, crossing the river opposite to the Casino of the brothers Castelli (where Caroline, queen of George IV., passed several days), then ascending through the gardens of the Casino, and passing along rocky ledges of brushwood, until you come within sight and sound of the great torrent tumbling through a cleft of the opposite heights. Nine days before my visit this beautiful spot was chosen by a young artisan of Terni, a native of Ancona, for his last look at the world. Before he leaped from the rocks into the depths below he pencilled a few words, and left the paper where he stood, merely declaring that he had done the deed himself. Not an uncommon conclusion, in this part of the country, of ill-requited love,—at least so I was told at Terni. It seems the swains either take this desperate step or turn friars.

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* "Reatini me ad sua Tempe duxerunt."—Cicer., *Epist. ad Attic.* xv. lib. iv.

† "In eodem lacu nullo non die apparere arcus."—Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, lib. ii. cap. lxii.

‡ Ald. Manut. de Reatina urbe agroque, ap. Sallengre Thesaur., tom. i. p. 773.

There is an arbour with a wooden bench in it just opposite to the great cataract, a little above this lover's leap, and this is farmed by a peasant at 10 scudi a-year.

APPROACH TO ROME.

The fixing localities, and determining the claims of those antiquities whose chief interest is derived from the story attached to them, is generally supposed the peculiar province of dull plodding writers: but as the man most willing to give scope to his imagination would hardly choose to have any other foundation for his feeling than truth, and as he would be incensed at having been entrapped by an ignorant enthusiastic declaimer into an admiration of objects whose authenticity may be questioned by the first cool examinant, it is but fair that he should accept the labours of the professed topographer and antiquary with their due share of complacency and praise. The common opinion that blind belief is the most convenient *viaticum* is contradicted by the experience of every traveller in Italy. He who begins his journey with such entire confidence in common fame and common guide-books must have the conviction of imposture and mistake forced upon him at every turn. He is likely then to slide into the contrary extreme, and, if he is averse to all previous examination, will subside at last into complete scepticism and indifference. We may apply a literal sense to the words of Erasmus in praise of Italy: "*In that country the very walls are*

more learned and more eloquent than our men."* But the immense variety of antiquarian objects, the innumerable details of historical topography belonging to every province, the national inclination to fable, and, it may be said, to deception, suggest themselves to every considerate traveller, and induce him to a caution and reserve which, with wonders less multiplied and guides more faithful, he might deem superfluous and embarrassing. A very little experience is sufficient to convince him how small is the proportion of those antiquities whose real character has been entirely ascertained. From his first view of Soracte he rapidly advances upon Rome, the approach to which soon brings him upon debateable ground. At Civita Castellana he will find himself amongst the Veians when in the market-place of Leo X., but going on the town bridge he is told by Pius VI. that he is at Falerium. After he has caught the first view of St. Peter's from the height beyond Baccano, he hopes that the remaining sixteen miles may furnish him at every other step with some sign of his vicinity to Rome: he palpitates with expectation, and gazes eagerly on the open undulating dells and plains, fearful lest a fragment of an aqueduct, a column, or an arch, should escape his notice.

Gibbets garnished with black withered limbs, and a monk in a vetturino's chaise, may remind him that he is approaching the modern capital; but he descends into

* Lib. i. Epist. iv. to Rob. Fisher.

alternate hollows, and winds up hill after hill with nothing to observe except the incorrectness of the last book of travels, which will have talked to him of the flat, bare, dreary waste he has to pass over before arriving at the *Eternal* City. At last, however, he is stopped at a sarcophagus, and told to look at *the tomb of Nero:* a hardy falsehood, which may prepare him for the misnomers of the city itself, but which, notwithstanding the name of C. VIBIVS MARIANVS is cut upon the stone, was so exactly suited to the taste and learning of the president Dupaty, that he pointed a period of his favourite starts and dashes with this epigram, on the approach to ruined Rome, "*c'est le tombeau de Néron qui l'annonce.*".*

The downs which the traveller has passed after leaving Monterosi sink into green shrubby dells as he arrives within five or six miles of Rome. The Monte Mario stretches forward its high woody platform on the right. The distant plain of the Tiber and the Campagna, to the left, is closed by the Tiburtine and Alban hills. In the midst Rome herself, wide spreading from the Vatican to the pine-covered Pincian, is seen at intervals so far apart as to appear more than a single city. Arrived at the banks of the Tiber, he does not find the muddy insignificant stream which the disappointments of overheated expectations have described

* Santi Bartoli gives a picture of this tomb, plate 44, and says of it, "falsamente detto di Nerone."

it, but one of the finest rivers in Europe, now rolling through a vale of gardens, and now sweeping the base of swelling acclivities clothed with wood, and crowned with villas and their evergreen shrubberies. Immediately after he has crossed the river he will see the gate of the city at the end of a vista two miles in length; and the suburb is not composed of mean dwellings, but a fine road with a wide pavement passes between the walls of vineyards and orchards, with here and there neat summer-houses or arched gateways rising on either hand, and becoming more frequent with the nearer approach to the city. The Flaminian gate, although it is thought unworthy of Rome and Michael Angelo, will content those who are not fastidious. An entrance, not an arch of triumph, is sufficient for the modern capital. The stranger, when within that gate, may ascend at once by the new road winding up the Pincian mount, and enjoy from that eminence the view of a city, which, whatever may be the faults of its architectural details, is, when seen in the mass, incomparably the handsomest in the world.* The pure transparent sky above him will seem made, as it were, to give brilliancy to the magnificent prospect below. The new climate will indeed add much to his delight, for although, amongst those branches of

* Donatus prefers the site, the streets, and, as far as the church of St. Peter's is considered, the edifices, of the modern to those of the ancient city.—*Roma Vetus*, lib. i. cap. 29. The town is much improved since the time of Urban VIII., to whom Donatus dedicated his work.

the Apennines which approach within forty miles of the city, he may have been chilled by the rigours of a Lombard sky, he is no sooner in the plain of the Tiber than his spirits expand in an atmosphere which, in many seasons, preserves an unsullied lustre and exhilarating warmth from the rains of autumn to the tempests of the vernal equinox. What has been said and sung of the tepid winter of Italy is not intelligible to the north of Rome; but in that divine city—for some transport may be allowed to the recollection of all its attractions—we assent to the praises of Virgil, and feel his poetry to have spoken the language of truth.

"Hic ver assiduum atque alienis mensibus æstas."

This must have been written at Rome: the banks of his frozen Mincio would have inspired no such rapture.* But not the superb structures of the modern town, nor the happy climate, have made Rome the country of every man and "the city of the soul." The education which has qualified the traveller of every nation for that citizenship which is again become, in one point of view, what it once was, the portion of the whole civilized world, prepares for him at Rome enjoyments indepen-

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* Rome had fallen when Rutilius said of her climate,—

"Vere tuo nunquam mulceri desinit annus
Deliciasque tuas victa tuetur hyems."
—Cl. Rut., *Num. Iter.*

dent of the city and inhabitants about him, and of all the allurements of sight and climate. He will have already peopled the banks of the Tiber with the shades of Pompey, Constantine, and Belisarius, and the other heroes of the Milvian bridge. The first footstep within the venerable walls will have shown him the name and the magnificence of Augustus; and the three long narrow streets branching from this obelisk, like the theatre of Palladio, will have imposed upon his fancy with an air of antiquity congenial to the soil. Even the mendicants of the country asking alms in Latin prayers, the milestones of the Via Cassia, and the vineyard gates of the suburbs inscribed with the ancient language, may be allowed to contribute to the agreeable delusion. Of the local sanctity which belongs to Athens, Rome, and Constantinople, the two first may be thought to possess, perhaps, an equal share. The latter is attractive chiefly for that site which was chosen for the retreat and became the grave of empire. The Greek capital may be more precious in the eyes of the artist, and, it may be, of the scholar, but yields to the magnitude, the grandeur, and variety of the Roman relics. The robe of the Orientals* has spread round Athens an air of antique preservation, which the European city and the concourse of strangers have partially dispelled from Rome. But the required solitude may be occasionally found amongst the vaults of the Palatine, or the columns of the great

* Now exchanged for the Bavarian hat and breeches (1854).

Forum itself. Ancient and modern Rome are linked together like the dead and living criminals of Mezentius. The present town may be easily forgotten amidst the wrecks of the ancient metropolis; and a spectator on the tower of the Capitol may turn from the carnival throngs of the Corso to the contiguous fragments of the old city, and not behold a single human being. The general effect of such a prospect may be felt by any one; and ignorance may be consoled by hearing that a detailed examination must be made the study rather of a life than of a casual visit.

GUIDES FOR ROME.

The traveller who is neither very young nor very incurious may inquire what previous instruction or present guides will enable him to understand the history as well as to feel the moral effect of "the broken thrones and temples." To this question no satisfactory answer can be given.* The earlier notices of the Roman antiquities abound with errors, which might be expected from the infancy of a study requiring so much discretion. Petrarch, who was himself an antiquary, and presented a collection of gold and silver medals to the Emperor Charles IV. in 1354, called the pyramid of Cestius the tomb of Remus; and

* Written in 1817; but Dr. Smith's Rome has now provided the traveller with much that he wants.

Poggio, who is surprised at such an error,* has indulged in exaggerations which very much reduce the value of his lamentation over the fallen city. The ill-tempered Florentine has also told us what to expect from his contemporary Ciriacus of Ancona, whose forty days' ride in Rome, with his tablets in hand, has procured for him no better names than an impostor and a dunce.† Flavius Blondus, who dedicated his treatises to the patron of this latter writer, Eugenius IV., contented himself with a description rather of the ancient city, and hazarded so few conjectures on its comparative topography, that he owns he could hardly discover the seven hills on the most minute inspection.‡ When less doubtful, he is not less erroneous; and, amongst other instances, may be selected his assertion that Theodoric permitted the Romans to employ the stones of the Coliseum for the repair of the city walls.§ In the end of the same century (15th) Pomponius Lætus made a collection of antiques on the Quirinal, and distinguished himself in

* De fortunæ varietate urbis Romæ et de ruinis ejusdem descriptio. Ap. Sallengre Nov. Thesaur. Antiq. Roman., Venet. 1735, tom. i. p. 501.

† See an account of him in Tiraboschi. Storia della Lett., tom. vi. par. i. lib. i. p. 264 et seq., edit. Venet. 1795. He rode on a white horse, lent him by Cardinal Condolmieri, afterwards Eugenius IV. Tiraboschi defends Ciriacus.

‡ Roma instaurata, edit. Taurin. 1527, in a collection, lib. i. fol. 14.

§ Ibid. lib. iii. fol. 33. See notice of the Coliseum.

exploring the ruins; but the forgery of the inscription to Claudian * renders the authority of the restorer of the drama more than suspected. Sabellico Peutinger and Andreas Fulvius, both of the school of Lætus, will throw little light on a survey of Rome. The character of Marlianus may be given from his annotator Fulvius Ursinus.† He does not treat frequently of the modern town, and despatches the curiosities of the Capitol in twenty lines. The arbitrary rashness which displeased Ursinus is, however, shown in instances more decisive than the one selected by his annotator. Lucius Faunus is occasionally quoted by later writers, and

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* Claudian had a statue in the forum of Trajan, but the inscription was composed by Pomponius Lætus. See Tiraboschi, Storia, &c., tom. ii. lib. iv. It imposed on all the antiquaries, and was believed even by Nardini. See Roma Antic., lib. v. cap. ix. Considerable caution is requisite even at this time in reading inscriptions either on the spot or copied. That on the horse of Aurelius was written at a venture, when that monument was transported from the Lateran to the Capitol, in 1538, by Paul III.

Faunus, Gruter, Pagi, Smetius, Desgodetz, Piranesi, gave an incorrect copy of the inscription on the Pantheon. Marlianus, Faunus, and Nardini have done the same by the inscription on the Temple of Concord. See the Abate Fea's dissertation on the ruins of Rome at the end of his translation of Winckelmann's Storia delle Arti, &c., tom. iii. pp. 294, 298.

† Fulvius is angry with Marlianus for placing the temple of Jupiter Tonans near the Clivus Capitolinus, but it was placed there again by the antiquaries of our own day. "Atque fortasse minus est admirandum quod ita factus est homo hic ut arbitratu suo temere omnia tractet."—See *Marliani urbis Romæ Topographia, ap. Grævium. Antiq. Roman.*, tom. iii. lib. ii. cap. 3, p. 141, note 3. Marlianus dedicated his treatise to Francis I., whom he styles *liberator Romæ*.

generally for the sake of correcting his errors.* The studious but unlearned Ligorius, the erudite obscure Panvinius, have received their estimation from Montfaucon.† Pancirolus does not attempt to be a modern guide, and Fabricius, where he runs into the contrary extreme, and gives ancient names to disputed remnants, is to be admired only for the boldness of his conjecture.‡ Donatus and Nardini are indeed of a very superior quality, and the last is to this day the most serviceable conductor. The exception made in their favour by the more modern writers is not, however, unqualified.§ Montfaucon, in the end of the 17th century, found them, and many others who had passed nearly their whole lives in attempting a

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* De Antiq. urb. Romæ. ap. Sallengre. Nov. Thesaur., &c., tom. i. p. 217.

† Diarium Italicum, edit. Paris, 1702, cap. 20, p. 279. "Sequitur Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes quotquot antea scripserunt eruditis suis lucubrationibus obscuravit." He is given in the third vol. of Grævius.

‡ They are both to be found in the third vol. of Grævius. Descriptio urbis Romæ, p. 462. George Fabricius wrote in 1550. Panvinius dedicated his description of Rome, which he added to the old regionaries, to the Emperor Ferdinand, in 1558. Fabricius himself mentions some early writers in his first chapter, and lays down a useful canon—"In cognoscendis autem urbis antiquitatibus sermo vulgi audiendus non est."

§ "E quibus (that is, all the early topographers), si hos binos posteriores exceperis, nemo est, qui in turpes errores non inciderit, quamquam nec isti quidem immunes sint."—Jul. Minutuli, *Dissertatio III.* de urbis Romæ topographia. Syllabus auctorum, ap. Sallengre Supp., &c., p. 40.

description of the city, far from satisfactory,* and neither he nor his contemporaries supplied the deficiency. A hundred years have not furnished the desired plan of the city. Detached monuments have been investigated with some success; and whenever Visconti has shone out, we have had reason "to bless the useful light." But whoever should attempt a general view of the subject would have to brush away the cobwebs of erudition with which even the modern discoveries are partially obscured. Venuti hardly deserves the praise conferred upon him by our most intelligent modern traveller.† His style and argument are in many places such as not to allow of his being divined, and he generally leaves us, even when most positive, to balance doubts and choose between difficulties. If the Abbé Barthelemy had pursued his original plan of writing an Italian Anacharsis for the age of Leo X., he might have been more useful at Rome than he is in Greece. As it is, the Abbé's cursory but learned observations are distinguished by the quotation of a very singular document,

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* Montfaucon says of Donatus, "Quamvis plura prætermittat quam scribit." Of Nardini, "Laudatum opus a laudatis viris," but "videturque sane nihil pensi habere, dum dubia et difficultates perpetuo injiciat, ubi ne vel umbra difficultatis fuerit."—*Diarium Italicum*, &c., cap. 20, p. 281, edit. Paris, 1702.

† Mr. Forsyth, after touching on the inadequacy of former topographers as general guides, says, "*Venuti has sifted this farrago.*" *Remarks, &c., on Italy*, p. 129, sec. edit. If he has, the chaff flies in our eyes.

the original of which has never been found;* and his ingenious countrymen had not extended their literary empire to the illustration of sites and monuments in their rival Italy until their political dominion had embraced the soil itself. Our own writers, with the exception of Mr. Forsyth, whose sketch makes us regret the loss of the taste and learning he might have brought to bear on a regular survey, have done nothing in this laborious line, absolutely nothing. The last of them seems to have thought it of little importance that the Capitol was ever inhabited by any others than the monks of Ara-cœli, or that the court of Augustus preceded that of the Popes. The insufficiency of all latter labours, and the necessity of some new guide, may be collected from the expedient at last adopted of republishing Nardini.† What has been said of the

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* It refers to the Coliseum, and will be remarked in its proper place. See Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. xxviii. pp. 519, 599. A separate volume has been printed.

Mr. Millin has published four volumes on Upper Italy (Voyage en Savoie, en Piémont, à Nice, et à Gènes, 1816; and Voyage dans le Milanais à Plaisance, Parme, &c., 1817), and is to continue his work down to the Straits of Messina, and into Calabria. He should be warned that he is charged by the Italians with never having been in some of the spots he describes as a spectator. His compilation does not apply to present appearances. It is as clear that he never has been at Parma as that Bonaparte was at the battle of Lodi, which, by the account given by this conserver of the king's medals, it would appear he was not.—See *Voyage dans le Milanais*, &c., pp. 57, 58, chap. xvi.

† It has been undertaken by Mr. Nibby, a respectable young man, one of the professional antiquaries of Rome, who is likewise employed

embarrassment of a stranger at Rome must appear more singular when it is recollected that besides the casual efforts of natives and foreigners there is an archæological society constantly at work upon the antiquities of the city and neighbourhood, and that not a few persons of liberal education are in the exercise of a lucrative profession, having for object the instruction and conduct of travellers amidst the wrecks of the old town and the museums of the new.

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on a translation of Pausanias. The volume on the Basilica of St. Paul, under the name of Monsignor Niccolai, is by this gentleman.

Nibby afterwards published his edition of Nardini, a volume on the Forum, and a work in four volumes called 'Rome in 1838,' divided into Ancient Rome and Modern Rome, besides other topographical essays. He became official antiquary to his Holiness, and acquired other honours, the titles of which stretch through several lines in the title-page of his last work.

Dr. Smith's article "Rome," by Mr. Dyer, gives a short sketch of recent writers.

CHAPTER VIII.

Few remains of Republican Rome — Uncertainty of Roman antiquities — The walls of Rome — Their ancient and modern measurement — Various names at different times given to the same remains — Tomb of the Scipios — Destruction of ancient sepulchres.

FEW REMAINS OF REPUBLICAN ROME.

IT was one of the complaints of Poggio * that he saw almost nothing entire, and but very few remains, of the free city; and, indeed, the principal disappointment at Rome arises from finding such insignificant vestiges of the first ages and of the republic. Something, perhaps, might be added to the lists of them given by Mr. Forsyth; but not much. We have seen how soon those works disappeared; but we might still have expected to find something more than a sewer, a prison, a row of vaults, a foundation wall, a pavement, a sepulchre, a half-buried fragment of a theatre and circus. The artist may be comparatively indiffer-

* "Nam ex publicis aut privatis operibus liberæ quondam civitatis interrupta quædam et ea parva vestigia visuntur."—*De Varietate*, &c.

ent to the date and history, and regard chiefly the architectural merit of a structure; but the Rome which the Republican Florentine regretted, and which an Englishman must wish to find, is not that of Augustus and his successors, but of those greater and better men of whose heroic actions his earliest impressions are composed.

We have heard too much of the turbulence of the Roman democracy and of the Augustan virtues. No civil tranquillity can compensate for that perpetual submission, not to laws but persons, which must be required from the subjects of the most limited monarchy. The citizens of the worst regulated republic must feel a pride and may indulge a hope superior to all the blessings of domestic peace, and of what is called established order, another word for durable servitude. The struggles for supreme though temporary power amongst those of an equal condition give birth to all the nobler energies of the mind, and find space for their unbounded exertion. Under a monarchy, however well attempered, the chief motive for action must be altogether wanting, or feebly felt, or cautiously encouraged. Duties purely ministerial, honours derived from an individual, may be meritoriously performed, may be gracefully worn; but, as an object of ambition, they are infinitely below the independent control of our fellow-citizens, and, perhaps, scarcely furnish a compensation for entire repose. The natural love of distinction on any terms may push us into

public life; but it palsies our efforts, it mortifies our success, perpetually to feel that in such a career, although a failure is disgraceful, a victory is inglorious:

"Vincere inglorium—atteri sordidum."

These are the sentiments of Agricola and the words of Tacitus, and bespeak the real value of the subordinate dignity which is all that can be obtained under a Domitian or under a Trajan, under the worst or under the best of princes.

As those glorious institutions which subdued and civilized the world have long seemed incompatible with the altered condition of mankind, we recur with the greater eagerness to every memorial of their former existence; and hence our regret at finding so little of the early city. The courtly and melodious muses that graced the first age of the monarchy have, indeed, affixed an imperishable interest to every site and object connected with their patrons or their poetry; and in default of republican relics we are content with looking on the floorings of the Esquiline palace and at the fabric dedicated to him who has found a more durable monument in the verses of Virgil. The house of Mæcenas and the theatre of Marcellus can boast no other attraction.

It is not to be denied but that by good fortune the most virtuous of the Roman sovereigns have left the most conspicuous monuments, and that we are thus perpetually recalled to an age in which mankind are

supposed to have been more happy and content than during any other period of history. We may look at the Coliseum, the temples of Vespasian and Antoninus, the arch of Titus, and the historical columns, without cursing the usurpation of Augustus.

But it is not to worship at the shrine of the Flavian princes, nor to do homage to the *forbearance* of Trajan (the word is not used at random),* or to the philosophy of Aurelius, that we undertake the pilgrimage of Rome. The men whose traces we would wish to discover were cast in another mould; and belonged to that order of beings whose superior qualities were, by the wisest of their immediate successors,† as well as by the slaves of the last emperors,‡ acknowledged to have expired with the republic. It is with the builders, and not the dilapidators, of the Roman race that we would hope to meet in the Capitol. Our youthful pursuits inspire us with no respect or affection for this nation independent of their republican virtues. It is to refresh our recollection of those virtues that we explore the ruins of

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* Νῦν δὲ τοῦ τε οἴνου διακόρως ἔπινε, καὶ νήφων ἦν, ἔν τε τοῖς παιδικοῖς οὐδένα ἐλύπησεν.—*Dion. Hist. Rom.*, lib. lxviii. tom. ii. p. 1125, edit. Hamb., 1750. It may be recollected why Julian excluded Trajan from the banquet of the Cæsars.

† "Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit; magna illa ingenia cessere."—*Tacit. Hist.*, lib. i. cap. i.

‡ "Postquam jura ferox in se communia Cæsar
Transtulit; et lapsi mores; desuetaque priscis
Artibus, in gremium pacis servile recessi."
—*Claud. de Bello Gildonico.*

the city which gave them birth; and, absorbed by an early devotion for the patriots of Rome, we are indifferent to the records of her princes. We feel no sympathy with the survivors of Philippi. We would prefer a single fragment of the Palatine house of Hortensius or of Cicero to all the lofty ruins which fringe the imperial hill.

As it is, we must visit a sepulchre or a museum; must trust to one amongst a range of suspicious busts; must unravel an inscription, to extricate ourselves from antiquarian doubts, before we are recalled to the city of the Scipios, whilst everything around us attests the might and the magnificence of the Cæsars.*

UNCERTAINTY OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

THE WALLS, THEIR ANCIENT AND MODERN MEASUREMENT — VARIOUS NAMES AT DIFFERENT TIMES GIVEN TO THE SAME RUINS — TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS DESPOILED — TIME OF DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT SEPULCHRES.

The greater share of satisfaction at Rome will come to the portion of those travellers who find, like Dante,

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* Some writers of our time, and, amongst them, a few deservedly popular, have found out that the world has hitherto been sadly deceived with respect to the character and manners of the ancient Greeks and Romans. "C'était une bien vilaine race," says M. Simond, who thinks the moderns have improved wonderfully upon their predecessors, not only in their own persons, but in the breed of their horses, which in the days of Bucephalus were only "bons gros limoniers;" but whether this is true or not, M. Simond's volume is very amusing.

a pleasure in doubting. The stranger, when he has entered the modern city, would, at least, wish to assure himself that he knows the site of ancient Rome. He has, however, to clear his ground of some of the conjectures of the learned even before he can persuade himself thoroughly of this fact. He soon will believe that the circuit of the present walls is somewhat bigger than the region of the old Esquiliæ, and more than a two hundredth part of the Augustan city.*

But he will not find it quite so easy to reconcile the various measurements with the actual appearance of the walls, or to understand how, as Gibbon tells us, "their circumference, except in the Vatican, has been invariably the same, from the triumph of Aurelian to the peaceful but obscure reign of the Popes." † If so it was the same, first, when Alaric took Rome; secondly, when the dominion of the Popes was established; thirdly, at this day.

The circuit, diminished from the fifty miles of Vopiscus, "is reduced by accurate measurement to about

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* "Vel solæ Esquiliæ majores erant, quam sit totum illud quod hodiernis includitur muris spatium."—Isa. Vossii, *De Magnit. Rom. Veteris*, p. 1507, ap. Græv., tom. iv. To have a perfect notion of the logic of learning, it is sufficient to read this insane treatise, which spreads the walls to 72 miles, and the inhabitants to 14 millions. There is scarcely an incontrovertible position in all his seven chapters. Lipsius is not quite so paradoxical in his conclusions, and he is much more ingenious in his array of authorities—his Rome is 23 miles.

† Decline and Fall, cap. xli. vol. vii. oct. p. 228.

twenty-one miles," says Gibbon in his eleventh chapter.* This gives his measurement for the first period. But when Poggio saw them, "they formed a circumference of ten miles, included 379 turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.† This serves for the second date. Lastly, "whatever fancy may conceive, the severe compass of the geographer defines the circumference of Rome within a line of twelve miles and three hundred and forty-five paces." ‡ These words of the same historian apply to the third point of time.

Now it is quite clear that all these measurements differ, and yet it is equally clear that the historian avers they are all the same. He says, in another place, speaking of them in the age of Petrarch, the walls "still described the old circumference." § It is true he cites authorities; but he speaks without reserve, and has not attempted to account for the difference between the three above-given dimensions. We

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* Decline and Fall, vol. ii. oct. p. 28. See also another place. "When the capital of the empire was besieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured by Ammonius the mathematician, who found it equal to 21 miles."—Cap. xxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 287.

† Ibid., cap. lxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 398.

‡ Ibid., cap. xli. p. 227.

§ Ibid., cap. lxxi. p. 411, tom. xii. Gibbon has failed to observe that the walls were dilated after Aurelian and Probus, by Constantine, who took down one of the sides of the Prætorian camp and made the remaining three serve for the fortifications of the city, whose circuit thereby became necessarily somewhat enlarged.

shall find no help, therefore, from the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, unless we follow only one of these various accounts, and believe in the third computation, which is that assigned by D'Anville from Nolli's map, and which coincides with the experience of two of our countrymen, who made a loose calculation of the circuit by walking round the walls in the winter of 1817. *

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* The following is a note of their walk. They set out from the banks of the Tiber, near the Flaminian gate (Porta del Popolo); their rate of walking was 592 paces in five minutes, and they noted the time from gate to gate. To the Porta Pinciana (shut), 18 minutes; Porta Salara, 8; Porta Pia, 3; a shut gate (Querquetulana), 12; St. Lorenzo, 8; Maggiore, 7½; Lateran, or Porta St. Giovanni, 12½; Porta Latina (shut), 17½; Porta Capena, or St. Sebastiano, 4¼; a shut gate, 3¾; Porta di St. Paolo (Ostian), 14½; delay, 4½; within the wall, the outer circuit not being accessible, 4¾; delay, 7; within the walls down to the Tiber, 6½; delay, 4; bank of the Tiber within ruined wall, 10¾; delay occasioned by going across the Tiber to the opposite corner, 38½; from bank of the Tiber to Porta Portese, ½; Porta Aurelia, or S. Pancrasio, 18½; Porta Cavalli Leggieri, 14½; a shut gate (Porta delle Fornaci), 2½; Porta Fabbrica (shut), 6; Porta Angelica, 14¼; Porta Castello (a shut gate), 5½; round to the corner of the bastion of St. Angelo, on bank of the Tiber, 7¾; along the bank of the Tiber, where there are no walls, to the ferry at the Ripetta, 7½; delay, 10½; crossing the Tiber and walking along the bank to the corner of the walls whence they set out, 6½. The time employed in walk was 4 hours 38 minutes; the delays amounted to 1 hour 4¼ minutes. The time taken walking round the actual circuit of the city was 3 hours 33¾ minutes. Supposing the rate of walking to be about 3½ miles an hour, the measurement is 12¼ miles.

This measurement agrees with that of several persons who have made the same walk; but, trying the distance in 1843 with a pedometer, I found it considerably less. The most detailed work on the Walls of Rome, by Nibby, written to illustrate the designs of Sir

Poggio's measurement was probably nearly exact, for he did not reckon the ramparts of Urban, and, perhaps, not the Vatican; but it is singular that the pilgrim of the thirteenth century, who undoubtedly saw the same walls, and enumerates very nearly the same quantity of turrets, should* give to them a circumference double that of the Florentine, and nearly coinciding with that of the time of Alaric, that is twenty-one miles. If, however, they were so accurately measured at that time, the present walls cannot possibly stand on the site of those of Aurelian; for, since the Vatican has been included, and also the ramparts of Urban VIII. which Gibbon has overlooked, or falsely confounded with the Vatican, the modern circuit being larger on one side the Tiber, and the same on the other, it is evident that the whole circumference at present must be greater than it was under Aurelian. That is to say, twelve miles, three hundred and fifty-five paces, are more than twenty-one miles—"which is absurd."

William Gell, seems to give the circuit of the modern walls from eleven to twelve miles (see cap. vi. p. 235, note 358, edit. 1821); but Nibby, in order to reconcile the number of Ammonius with the modern walls, is obliged to suppose that the historian Cassiodorus, who reports the calculation, ought to be corrected:—"Il numero KA di Cassiodoro si deve corrigere in IA o IB, onde vada in accorda. col fatto."

* "Murus civitatis Romæ habet turres 361. Castella id est merulos 6900, portas 12, posterulas (portæ minores) 5. In circuitu vero sunt milliaria 22, exceptis Transtiberim et civitate Leoninâ id est porticu St. Petri."—*Lib. de Mirabilibus Romæ, in loc. citat.*, p. 283.

The present walls may touch at points and take in fragments, but they cannot include the same circumference as the twenty-one miles accurately measured by the mathematician Ammonius. Some assistance might be expected from the examination of the walls themselves: but here again it may be necessary to warn the reader in what manner he is to understand an assertion which he will find in another work, subsequently published, of the same author.* "Those who examine with attention the "walls of Rome, still distinguish the shapeless stones of "the first Romans, the cut marbles with which they "were constructed under the emperors, and the ill-burnt "bricks with which they were repaired in the barbarous "ages." Now the whole of the modern walls are of brick, with the following exceptions. There are some traces of the arched work on which the walls of Aurelian, perhaps, were raised, about the Porta Pia and the Porta Salara. There are buttresses of travertine, and, in one case (the Porta Capena), of marble about the gateways, which are of the same imperial date. There are single shapeless fragments of marble here and there, mixed up with the more modern work, and occasionally laid upon the top of the walls. This is all that can apply to

* "Ceux qui examinent avec attention les murailles de Rome distinguent encore les pierres informes des premiers Romains, les marbres bien travaillés dont on les construisit sous les Empereurs, et les briques malcuites dont on les réparoit dans les siècles barbares."—*Nomina gentesque Antiquæ Italiæ*, p. 209, in Gibbon's posthumous works.

Gibbon's description; for as to the shapeless stones of the first Romans, they cannot be discovered, except in those scarcely distinguishable mounds which are within the walls, a little beyond the Thermæ of Diocletian, and are usually thought part of the Tullian rampart.* It must be remarked also that there is no evidence that the walls of the emperors were of cut marble. The authority of Cassiodorus has been followed by Marlianus† and others, as affording a proof that they were composed of square blocks. But it has been noted by Nardini,‡ on another occasion, that the Gothic minister, in making use of the word *mœnia*, does not always allude to the walls of the city, but of other structures; and in that sense I have interpreted, in a preceding notice, what he says of the *square stones* of the ruins. The same topographer justly remarks the contrary fact, that the oldest work now apparent is *of brick*.§ The three sides of a square from near the Porta Pia to the Porta Querquetulana, a shut gate, seem to be the Prætorian ramparts included by Constantine, and not materially defaced by repairs.‖ The amphitheatre for the Prætorians is also

* The plan in the last edition of Venuti lays down the Agger Tarquinii in the space between the Lateran and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: repeated search may fail in finding any trace of this Agger. Donatus positively says there is none.—Lib. i. cap. xiii.

† Urbis Romæ Topographia, lib. i. cap. ix.

‡ Roma Vetus, lib. i. cap. viii.

§ "Nam vetus illa substructio e lateribus est."—Ibid.

‖ Donatus has observed that the words of Zosimus will not justify this inference, but that the present appearance of this part of the walls will.—Lib. i. cap. xv. Fabricius (Descriptio urbis Romæ,

in the Aurelian circuit, near the church of Santa Croce *in Gerusalemme;* and some large stones, laid one on another, without cement, contiguous to that amphitheatre, are only to be ascribed to the hasty preparations of Belisarius before the second siege. The strange reticulated hanging wall, opposite to the gate of the villa Borghese, was another ancient structure which made part of the defences of the city before the time of that general. All these three portions of the circuit are of brick, and the comparative antiquity of other parts is easily ascertained by those accustomed to such investigations. Some of the fragments of the next date are to be attributed to Honorius,* a considerable restorer, or rather rebuilder, of the walls. In the interval between his reign and that of Theodoric repairs had become requisite, and were undertaken by that monarch. Belisarius made them capable of defence, and in the subsequent occupation of the city partly rebuilt that third portion which Totila had thrown down, and then helped afterwards to repair. Narses was also a restorer of the walls; and some work resembling that of the "Amphitheatre of the Camps" has been ascribed to his imitation of that more ancient construction.†

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cap. v. and vi.) has given a plate in which the *castra prætoria* are put without the walls, to correspond with the old appearance.

* See Claudian in VI. Cons. Honor., and an inscription over a shut gate at the Porta Maggiore. Nardini, ibid. A similar inscription was over the Porta Portese, which was thrown down by Urban VIII. See Donatus, lib. i. cap. xv.

† Nardini, ibid.

It appears that the circuit followed by each of these restorers must have been very nearly, if not exactly, that of Aurelian, or at least Honorius.* No vestiges of foundations which could have belonged to those older walls can be discovered beyond the present circumference; and the same fact has been ably deduced from many concurrent arguments, especially by Donatus, who tries to prove that the Popes who subsequently rebuilt and repaired them, also adopted the ancient line, and did not at all contract the space occupied by the old imperial fortifications.†

How then are we to reconcile the measurement, as it is stated to have been accurately taken by Ammonius, with the present circuit, which, except on the Transtiberine side, where it is larger, is evidently nearly the same as it was under the emperors? There seems no expedient but to reject the authority of that mathematician, or rather his reporter Olympiodorus, and to believe that Pliny's older measurement of thirteen miles, two hundred paces,‡ was not so much dilated by

* Nardini thinks they were made to shrink backwards a little towards the Amphitheatrum Castrense, when Belisarius repaired them the second time.—*Ibid.*

† De Urbe Roma, lib. i. cap. xviii. xix. xx.

‡ "Mœnia ejus collegere ambitu Imperatoribus Censoribusque Vespasianis, anno conditæ DCCCXXVIII. passuum XIII. M.CC. complexa montes septem." This is the celebrated passage which has puzzled Lipsius and the commentators and topographers. I am pleased to collect from the article in Dr. Smith's Dictionary that the writer thinks the circumference of the Aurelian walls corresponded with

Aurelian as is generally thought;* and that it included every suburban district which was surrounded with a wall, such as the Prætorian camp, and the Transtiberine region, and might *therefore possibly* extend itself to spots where no traces of it have been found or sought for. In that case the discrepancy between the present and the ancient circuit will be much diminished, if not altogether annihilated. To this it may be added, that as the works of Narses, and, indeed, of the Emperors, were of brick, they might, when once decayed, very easily be gradually lost; and that, when the Popes commenced their repairs, the diagonal of an irregular projection might here and there have been taken, instead of the former line, by which means a partial reduction, sufficient to account for the above difference, may be allowed to have taken place.

It should seem that during the troubles of the Exarchate the walls had fallen down in many parts, and that the city was left naked on some points, particularly towards the gate of St. Lorenzo. The terms in which the rebuilding by the Popes, in the eighth century, is

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that of the walls when measured in the reign of Vespasian, as recorded by Pliny. Mr. Dyer considers that he has got rid of the difficulty which embarrassed previous writers (1858).

* Nardini, ibid., has shown where the additional ground was taken in by Aurelian; and Donatus was almost inclined to think that that Emperor had not enlarged the circuit. Cassiodorus and Eusebius do not talk of the walls being increased, but fortified. Vopiscus, by mentioning fifty miles, has taken away all credit from himself or from his text.—*Donat.*, lib. i. cap. xix.

recorded, would imply almost a totally new construction. After Sisinnius, and Gregory II. and III., had made some progress in this useful labour, Hadrian I. convoked the peasants from Tuscany and Campania, and with their help and that of the Romans *rebuilt from their foundations,* in many places, the walls and towers in all their *circuit.* Such are the strong expressions of the papal biographer.* Leo IV. in 847 included the Borgo, that is, the Basilica of St. Peter's, and the contiguous quarter of the Vatican: and from his reign until that of Urban VIII. nineteen pontiffs have been specified as contributing to the repairs. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that an early topographer should have declared that the walls were indubitably

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* "Verum etiam et muros atque turres hujus Romanæ urbis quæ dirutæ erant et usque ad fundamenta destructæ renovavit atque utiliter omnia in circuitu restauravit."—Anast., *de Vit. Rom. Pontif., Script. Rer. Italic.,* tom. iii. p. 188.

"Ipse vero deo, ut dicitur, protectus Præsul conspiciens muros hujus civitatis Romanæ per olitana tempora in ruinis positos, et per loca plures turres usque ad terram eversas, per suum solertissimum studium totas civitates tam Tusciæ, quamque Campaniæ congregans una cum populo Romano, ejusque suburbanis, nec non et toto ecclesiastico patrimonio omnibus prædicans, et dividens ex sumptibus dapibusque Apostolicis totam urbem in circuitu restaurans universa renovavit, atque decoravit."—*Ibid.* p. 194.

Anastasius *flourished* under Hadrian II. and John VIII. He writes only to Nicholas I. The remainder of the lives were written by William, another librarian, under the name of Damasus. See Bianchini's Prolegomena to the Liber Pontificalis. Both one and the other were compilers, not composers, of the Lives. The edition in Muratori and that of Bianchini have been used.

not ancient.* The antiquaries profess to see a hundred different constructions in their mixed composition. Urban VIII. completed them as we now see them, by running his rampart along the acclivity of the Janiculum, from the Aurelian gate (St. Pancrazio) to the angle of the Vatican, commonly called the *Porta de' Cavalli Leggieri*.† He entirely rebuilt them from the same Aurelian gate to the Porta Portese, on the banks of the Tiber. Since that period other Pontiffs have been active in repairs, but no change has taken place in the circuit; concerning which we may finally conclude that it is equal, very nearly, if not quite, to the largest circumference of the ancient city, and, except on the Transtiberine side, *generally* follows the line of Aurelian. It is equally clear that the *exact* ancient line could not always be followed. We see this from the bastion of Paul III. at the foot of the Aventine, which, if it had been finished, would have probably been considered as upon that ancient line.

If from the walls themselves we retire into the interior of their vast circuit, we shall be still more confounded. The names given to the monuments perpetually vary, according to the fancy of some predominant antiquary. At one period all vaulted ruins belong to baths, at another they are portions of temples; Basilicas are

* "Mœnia urbis nunc extantia non esse antiqua sicut nulli est dubium, ita multis argumentis apparet."—Marlian., *Urb. Rom. Topog.*, lib. i. cap. ix.

† Donatus, lib. i. cap. xx.

at times the favourite denomination. The consequence of this varying nomenclature is the embarrassment of those who put themselves under the guidance of the best ancient or modern topographers; and we are often apt to reduce the monuments of all the regions to the character given by Nardini to those of the Aventine, which he divides into "sites not altogether uncertain, and sites evidently uncertain." *

The antiquarian disputes began at an early period; and where nothing but a name was left, there was still some pleasure found in the struggles of conjecture. The *mica aurea* has not been seen since the ninth century; but it afforded an opportunity of quoting Plutarch, Ammian, and Martial, to show that it might have been *a Greek girl*, or *a bear*, or *a supper-house*.† The actual remains were soon found to be no less uncertain. The two vaults of the church of St. Maria Nuova were believed, by Pomponius Lætus, the fragments of a temple of Æsculapius and Health; by Marlianus, of the Sun and Moon; by Blondus, of Æsculapius and Apollo; by Poggio, of Castor and Pollux.‡ They

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* "Situs non omnino incerti et situs plane incerti."—Lib. viii. cap. vi. The choice of Remus is peculiarly deserted. Victor alone has left any account of the Aventine. In all the twelfth region, between the Circus Maximus and the Baths of Caracalla, the latter was the only monument recognisable by the eyes of the above topographer.

† Nardini, lib. iii. cap. viii.

‡ Fabricii Descrip. Urb. Rom. cap. ix. ap. Græv. Ant., tom. iii. Attached to it is the church now called S. Francesca Romana; and

are now called the Temple of Venus and Rome, according to the opinion to which Nardini seemed to incline.* See also the many names given to the temple of Santa Maria Egizziaca.† Some thought it a chapel of Patrician Modesty, some a Basilica of Caius and Lucius, some a temple of Good Fortune, others of Manly Fortune. It is now come back to Modesty.‡ The temple attributed to Vesta, on the banks of the Tiber, was once thought that of Hercules Victor, and also of the Sun. Pomponius Lætus§ called it that of Juno Matuta, others named the goddess Volupia.‖ Hercules was recovering his rights during the winter of 1817. The Patrician Modesty is transferred, by an inscription, to the church of Santa Maria *in Cosmedin*, commonly called the Schola Græca; and the same inscription asserts that St. Augustine taught rhetoric in this school.¶

Other examples of uncertainty will occur in the subsequent notices of individual monuments. It would be

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if the stranger goes for information to the modern inscription, he will find these words: "In questo pietre pose le ginochia S. Pietro quando i demonj portarono Simone Mago per aria."

* Nardini, lib. iii. cap. 2.

† Donatus, lib. ii. cap. 18.—Nardini, lib. vii. cap. iv.

‡ In the time of Fulvius this tract about the Patrician Modesty was solely inhabited by prostitutes.—Nardini, lib. vii. cap. iv.

§ Donatus, lib. ii. cap. xxv.

‖ "Alii Herculis, alii Vestæ, alii deæ Volupiæ."—Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 188.

¶ No trust is to be put in modern inscriptions, and sometimes not in those which have every appearance of antiquity. Doubts have been entertained even about the inscription on the tomb of Bibulus, by Augustinus, in his dialogue on ancient coins.

hazardous to give a list of those which can suggest no reasonable doubts. The Coliseum; the three Triumphal Arches, those of Drusus, of Dolabella and Silanus, of Gallienus; the Baths of Diocletian, of Caracalla, of Constantine, a part of those of Titus; the Theatre of Marcellus, the few remains of that of Pompey; the two bridges of the Tiberine island; the mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian; the two historical columns; the tomb of Cestius, the tomb of Bibulus, the tomb of the Scipios; the Pantheon; the column of Phocas; the Septimian arch in the Velabrum; the inscribed obelisks; the *castellum* of the Claudian aqueduct; two or three of the city gates; the arcades of the Cloaca;* the Ælian bridge: these seem the most secure from scepticism; and it would be difficult to name another monument within the walls of an equally certain character.

TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS.

The handsome though plain sarcophagus of Barbatus may, by those of a certain taste, be thought more attractive than any of the masterpieces of the Vatican. The eloquent simple inscription becomes the virtues and the fellow-countrymen of the defunct, and instructs us more than a chapter of Livy in the style and language of the republican Romans.†

* But the antiquity of these arcades has been called in question by Mr. Duppa.

† CORNELIUS . LUCIUS . SCIPIO . BARBATUS . GNAIVOD . PATRE—— PROGNATUS . FORTIS . VIR . SAPIENSQUE . QVOIVS . FORMA . VIRTU-

The vault itself has been emptied of the slabs and inscriptions; and the copies fixed in the spot where they were found may be thought ill to supply the place of the originals. The local impression would have been stronger, but the preservation of the precious relics would have been less sure, in the vault than in the museum. The discovery of the tomb of the Scipios was not an unmingled triumph for the Roman antiquaries. It would not be easy to exemplify more strongly than by this instance the error and uncertainty of their researches. A fragment of peperine, evidently detached from this vault, with an inscription to Lucius, son of Barbatus Scipio, had been discovered in the year MDCXVI, near the Porta Capena, and was neglected as bad grammar and an evident forgery.* The objectors

TEI . PARISUMA . FUIT——CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . QUEI . FUIT . APVD . VOS . TAURASIA . CISAUNA——SAMNIO . CEPIT . SVBIGIT . OMNE . LOVCANA . OBSIDESQUE . ABDOVCIT. This inscription is in four lines, and is in ancient verse.

Nine other inscriptions were discovered in this family tomb; they are copied into the new edition of Venuti, published in Rome, 1803, parte ii. cap. i. p. 5 et seq.

* HONC OINO PLOIRVME COSENTIONT. R.
DVONORO . OPTVMO FVISSE VIRO
LVCIOM . SCIPIONE . FILIOS BARBATI
CONSOL CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC FVET . A
HEC GEPIT . CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE
DEDET TEMPESTATEBVS AIDE MERETO.

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ
Bonorum optimum fuisse virum
Lucium Scipionem Filius Barbati
Consol, Censor, Ædilis hic fuit
Hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque urbem
Dedit Tempestatibus ædem merito.

See

quoted Cicero to prove that the tomb of the Scipios must be *without* the Porta Capena, and forgot that the Aurelian walls had brought forward that gate beyond the Ciceronian sepulchre. The authenticity of the inscription was not without protectors; but the error balanced the fact, and the epitaph was occasionally quoted as apocryphal,* until the accident which uncovered the actual tomb in 1780. Those who had not supported the mistake could not but be gratified by a discovery so precious both to the philologist and the antiquary, and the happy accident was consigned to immortality in the very eloquent but rather dull Dialogues of the Dead, whom the Conte Verri evoked in those sacred vaults.

The pyramid which once stood in the line from the castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican was called the tomb of Scipio Africanus, on the authority of Acron, a scholiast on Horace,† and the Pine in the Belvedere was thought to belong to that monument.‡

Those who visit the tomb of the Scipios, as now shown, ought to be aware that the site alone can lay claim to undoubted authenticity. The primitive form of the

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See Antiquæ Inscriptionis Explanatio, ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom., tom. iv. p. 1835, Romæ, 1616. Winckelmann quotes it as authentic. —*Storia*, &c., lib. viii. cap. viii. tom. ii. p. 153, edit. citat.

* The padre Echinard and his editor Venuti placed the tomb without the modern Porta Capena, opposite to the chapel called "Domine quo Vadis," and gave a long description of it. See Descrizione di Roma e dell' Agro Romano, corretto dall' Abate Venuti in Roma, 1750. Echinard and his editor are full of gratuitous applications.

† Nardini, Roma Vetus, lib. viii. cap. xiii.

‡ G. Fabricii Descriptio Romæ, cap. xx.

sepulchre as discovered in 1780 has not been preserved.* The tomb of Barbatus, and all the inscriptions, are copies of the originals in the Vatican; nor is one of these copies in the place in which the original was found: add to this, that the inscriptions cannot be relied upon, inasmuch as the word "SAMNIO" has been rashly prefixed to the fourth line of the inscription on Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus. It has been recorded, and I presume is true, that the ashes or bones which were found in the tombs were scattered about, and would have been utterly lost, had they not been saved by the Senator Quirini, who carried them to Padua and deposited them in a modest monument at his villa Allicchiero. It has been remarked by Arnold that "no one action recorded in Scipio's epitaph is noticed by Livy, while no action which Livy ascribes to him is mentioned in his epitaph."† It would not be easy to produce a more complete specimen of the uncertainty of the antiquities, and those the most interesting, which are visited by travellers at Rome.

DESTRUCTION OF SEPULCHRES.

The period at which the ancient sepulchres were emptied of their ashes must have been that in which the Christians prowled about in every quarter for relics, and thought a church could not be consecrated without

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* Si è fatta dell' area del sepolcro una specie d'imitazione piu ò meno alterata di quello che fu trovato.—See Professor Nibby's Roma nel Anno 1838, parte ii. Antica, p. 566, edit. 1839.

† Hist. Rome, chap. xxxiii. vol. ii. p. 326, edit. 1844.

such a recommendation.* Eight-and-twenty cartloads of relics could not be procured for the Pantheon without some diligence and damage to the repositories of the pretended saints;† and we know that the eagerness of the search extended to sepulchres where the symbols of martyrdom were very equivocal, or not to be discovered at all.‡ Astolphus the Lombard, when he besieged Rome in 755, dug into the cemeteries of many saints, and "carried away their bodies, to the great detriment of his own soul," although from the most pious motives; and these saints were doubtless supposed to be found in any of the thousand tombs in the neighbourhood of Rome.§ Either this motive, or the expectation of find-

* See the letter of St. Ambrose on the discovery of St. Gervais and St. Protais, in which he says he sent his audience, who begged a church of him ("respondi, faciam si martyrum reliquias invenero"), to look for relics. St. Paul appeared to Ambrose, and told him to build a church in honour of these martyrs.—*Epist. segregatæ*, ep. ii. p. 484, edit. 1690. In the porch of the church of Sta. Bibiena mention is made of eleven thousand two hundred and odd martyrs, besides a bishop, who were buried there.

† See a note on the Pantheon.

‡ "Era dunque incredibile in que' secoli di ferro l'avidità delle sacre reliquie."—See *Dissertazione* 58, sopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. iii. p. 245, edit. Milan, 1751. Theodoric, bishop of Metz, a relation of Otho the Great, when he came to Rome, took a liking to the chain of St. Peter. He happened to be present with the court and Emperor when Pope John XII. held out the chain to a sick courtier to bite and be cured. "Di buone griffe avea questo prelato," observes Muratori; the bishop snatched at the chain, and declared they might cut his hand off, but he would not give it up. A struggle ensued, and the Emperor compounded with the Pope for a link. P. 246.

§ "Multa corpora sanctorum, effodiens eorum cemeteria ad magnum animæ suæ detrimentum abstulit."—Anastas. *in Vit. Stephan.*, ii. aut. iii.

ing the ornaments frequently buried with the dead, had encouraged a crime which it was found necessary to check by laws in early times, some of which are extant in the codes. The practice was continued to the reign, and it is doubtful whether it was not connived at by an edict, of Theodoric,* who wished to discourage the practice of impoverishing the living for the decoration of the dead.

At the fall of the empire of Charlemagne, and the rise of the feudal lords of Italy, the size of some of the tombs must have made the occupation of them a military object, as in the case of the two great mausoleums, and of Cecilia Metella; and in the subsequent periods of repair, the marbles with which they were decorated would expose them to easy spoliation. The urns and sarcophagi, when of precious materials, were, without scruple, transported from their site and emptied for the reception of purer ashes. Two of the Popes, Innocent II.† and Clement XII.,‡ repose in the marbles which, if they did not before receive the bones of Hadrian and Agrippa, were certainly constructed for heathen tenants; and the examples are innumerable of meaner Christians whose remains are enveloped in the symbols of paganism. It should be recollected that the mythological sculpture on

* Cassiod. variar. lib. iv. epist. 34.

† Pietri Manlii Opusculum Historiæ Sacræ ad Beatiss. Pat. Alexand. III. Pont. Max. ap. Acta Sanctorum, tom. vii. part ii. p. 37, edit. Antw. 1717. This doubtful author (see notice of the Castle of St. Angelo) mentions that the porphyry sarcophagus in which Hadrian was buried was transferred to the Lateran for the service of Innocent II.

‡ Clement XII. is buried in the Lateran in a beautiful porphyry sarcophagus, which was taken from one of the niches under the porch of the Pantheon.

sarcophagi was continued long after the introduction of Christianity, and that, when the relations of a defunct went to a repository to select a tomb, they were not scrupulous about the emblems, or were ignorant what they represented. A bishop, whose stone coffin is seen in the Basilica of *St. Lorenzo, without the walls,* is enclosed in bas-reliefs representing a marriage; this probably belonged to some Pagan body before it held the bishop; but the Christians were sometimes the first tenants of these heathen-sculptured tombs.

Humbler tombs were applied to other services: many are now cisterns. The church of St. Paul, *without the walls,* was paved with gravestones taken from the Ostian Way. A name was no protection in the days of ignorance; and the deposits of the mausoleum of the Cæsars, when they could not be converted to profit, were applied to vulgar uses. Some respect might have been paid to a stone thus inscribed:—

The Bones
Of Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa,
The grand-daughter of the divine Augustus,
The wife
Of Germanicus Cæsar,
The mother of C. Cæsar Augustus
Germanicus, our prince.*

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* Ossa .
Agrippinæ . M. Agrippæ .
Divi . Aug. Neptis. Uxoris .
Germanici . Cæsaris .
Matris . C. Cæsaris . Aug.
Germanici . Principis.

There is an exact representation of this sarcophagus in Santi Bartoli, '*Gli Antichi Sepolcri*,' &c., published in Rome, 1697.

But with these letters in large characters staring them in the face, the Romans used this stone as a measure for three hundred weight of corn, and the arms of their modern senate are sculptured upon one of its sides, in a style worthy of the "rude age," to which a modest inscription ascribes the misapplication. The sarcophagus, a huge cubic stone, is standing in the court of the Conservators' Palace in the Capitol, and is at this time perhaps scarcely preserved with so much care as might be claimed by a memorial of the only virtuous female of the Julian race. The pilgrim of the thirteenth century tells us that he saw these words over one of the cells of the mausoleum of Augustus: "*These are the bones and ashes of Nerva, the Emperor.*"*

The bones and ashes of Emperors have been dispersed in the ruins of this great sepulchre, which, from being choked up as a fortress, was hollowed out for a vineyard,† and, having at last become a circus, serves for the bull-feasts of the summer festivals. Some less illustrious ashes have been preserved or supplied in the columbaria of the two families whose vaults are shown in the garden in which stands the ruin called Minerva Medica.‡ But when the tombs were above ground, the cells were soon rifled and stripped of their

* "Hæc sunt ossa et cinis Nervæ Imperatoris."—Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ap. Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 292.

† There is a picture of the mausoleum, as it appeared when in this state, in Santi Bartoli, plate 72.

‡ The freedmen of Lucius Arruntius, consul in the reign of Tiberius, and those of some nameless or unknown family.

ornaments. In later ages the pyramid of Cestius was broken and ransacked for gold.* The tombs of the "happy dead" are become the huts of the wretched living, and the Appian Way may now humble the pride, but will hardly contribute to the consolations, of philosophy.†

The museums have stripped these populous cemeteries of their memorials. The six thousand freedmen‡ of the Augustan household have been transferred, at least some of their obscure names, to the Capitol. A more judicious plan has lately been adopted at the instance of the Marquis Canova, who has adjusted some of the fragments and the inscription of the sepulchre of the Servilian family, and raised them where

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* Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, lib. iii. cap. i. num. 7, tom. i. p. 405, tells the story as a fact, or a conjecture, from Bosius, who has also made a thick volume on subterranean Rome. That volume and the two folios of Aringhi, connecting the history of Rome with that of martyrdom, may serve to show what was likely to become of the monuments in the hands of those who thought all that was worth looking for was under ground, and, spurning the triumphal arches and columns of Pagan heroes, dived into cemeteries and catacombs in search of the founders of the city of God.

† "An tu egressus Porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulchra vides, miseros putas illos?"—*Tuscul. Qu.*, lib. i.

‡ The three sepulchral chambers containing the urns of the household of Augustus were discovered opposite the first milestone on the Appian Way, and that of the family of Livia was opened in 1726, a little beyond. See Ant. Franc. Gori, *de Libertor. Columbario, ap. Poleno*, tom. iii. The Vatican corridors abound with sepulchral inscriptions—short, but sufficient for such names. One stone tells us, "Here Tiberius, the son of Drusus, was burnt"—nothing more.

they were found.* It may be observed that the great approaches to the cities were not marked by tombs alone, but partly by suburban villas, and tradesmen's honses, and semicircular seats. Thus they were frequented as public walks; and the beauty of the sepulchres, together with the religion of the people and the wisdom of the higher orders, prevented any melancholy reflections from being suggested by the receptacles of the dead. Those who have seen the Street of the Tombs at Pompej will feel the truth of this observation. The Appian sepulchres extend, at short intervals, for several miles: let us fill the intermediate spaces with handsome edifices—restore the despoiled marbles to the tombs themselves—then imagine that the same decorations adorned all the other thirty great roads† which branched off from the capital; add to this also the banks of the Tiber, shaded with villas from as far as Otricoli, on the Sabine side, to the port of Ostia; and, with these additions, which it appears may fairly be supplied from ancient notices, we shall be able to account for the immense space apparently occupied by the city and suburbs of Old Rome.

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* M. SERVILIVS QVARTVS
DE SVA PECVNIA FECIT.

"Fragmenta ad sepulc. hoc. AN. D. 1808, A CANOVA. reperta ac donata . PIVS. VII. P. M. ita in perpet. servanda consuluit." See further notice, in these volumes, of the Appian Way.

† There were twenty-nine according to one account, and thirty-one according to another.—Fam. Nardini, *Roma Vetus*, lib. viii. cap. i.

Some doubts may be entertained whether Rome, even within the walls, was ever very densely inhabited in all its regions. How could Sallust have had his vast gardens—how Caracalla and Diocletian their enormous baths? Despotism may depopulate the country, but could hardly dislodge the inhabitants of an extensive quarter in a populous capital: and that there was little room for additional tenants we know, because we are told that, in the days of Juvenal, the people complained of being squeezed too tightly together.

CHAPTER IX.

CAUSES OF DESTRUCTION OF ROMAN STRUCTURES.

I SHALL now proceed to make some remarks on the various causes of the destruction of the buildings of ancient Rome, a subject on which, it is said with the utmost deference, the last chapter of our great historian Gibbon has furnished a hasty outline rather than the requisite details.* The inquiry has partaken of

* Let it not be thought presumptuous to say that this last chapter should have been his first composition, written while his memory was freshly stamped with the image of the ruins which inspired his immortal labours. In the present case his researches do not bear the mark of having been at all corrected by his Italian travels; and indeed, in more than one instance, his erudition has completely effaced his experience. It is not meant to attach undue importance to trifles; but an author whose accuracy was his pride, and who is generally allowed to have descended to the minutest details, particularly in topography, might hardly be expected to have made the mistake before alluded to:—"The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila as he lay encamped at the place where the slow winding Mincius is lost in the foaming Benacus, and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil;" and below, note 63, "The Marquis Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part i. pp. 95, 129, 221; part ii. pp. 2–6) has illustrated with taste and learning this interesting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolica or Ardelica, now Peschiera, at the conflux of the lake and the river."—*Decline and Fall*, cap. xxxv. p. 131, tom.

the fate of all disputed points. The exculpation of the Goths and Vandals has been thought prejudicial to the Christians, and the praise of the latter regarded as an injustice to the barbarians; but, forgetting the controversy, perhaps we shall find both the one and the other to have been more active despoilers than has been confessed by their mutual apologists. To begin with

THE BARBARIANS.

A learned Tuscan, the friend of Tasso, wrote a treatise expressly on this subject, and positively as-

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vi. oct. Extraordinary! The Mincius flows *from* the Benacus at Peschiera, not *into* it. The country is on a descent the whole way from the Veronese hills, according to the quotation from Virgil cited by Mr. Gibbon himself:—

> ——— qua se subducere colles
> Incipiunt.

More strange still is the reference to Maffei, who, so far from alluding to a conflux of the river and lake, says, at the close of the very sentence respecting the interview between Attila and St. Leo, "Chi scrisse il luogo di così memorabil fatto essere stato *ove sbocca il Mincio nel Po*, d' autore antico non ebbe appoggio."—*Verona Illustrata*, part i. p. 424, Verona, 1732. The other references (part ii. p. 3, 10, 11) of the same edition say nothing of the course of the river. It is just possible Mr. Gibbon thought Maffei meant to deny that the Mincio fell into the Po: but at all events he might have seen at Peschiera that it runs through sluices out of the Benacus. Maffei, however, in another place actually mentions the *outlet* of the lake into the Mincio,—"Peschiera .... all' esito del lago sul Mincio."—*Veron. Illust.*, par. iii. p. 510, edit. cit.

For another error of Gibbon, see p. 112; for an oversight, p. 130; for more blunders, see p. 154 et seq., p. 181 and 272, and p. 300 and following, and p. 308 of 'Illustrations of Childe Harold.' They will be noticed subsequently in these volumes.

serted that from Alaric to Arnulphus no damage was done by the Barbarians to any of the public edifices of Rome.* He owned that such an opinion would appear paradoxical, and so indeed will it be found after a cursory survey, and even as he treats the inquiry. It is certain that Alaric did burn a part of Rome. Orosius,† by making the comparison between the former great fires and that of the Goths, shows that such a comparison might be suggested by the magnitude of the latter calamity. He adds also, that after the people were returned the conflagration had left its traces; and, in relating the partial destruction of the Forum by lightning, makes it appear that the brazen beams and the mighty structures which were then consumed would have fallen by the hands and flames of the Barbarians had they not been too massive for human force to overthrow.‡ It should be remem-

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* Angelio Pietro da Barga, de Privatorum Publicorumque Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ eversoribus Epistola ad Petrum Usimbardum, &c., ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman., tom. iv. p. 1870, edit. Venet. 1732. "Sed tamen quod ad publicorum ædificiorum et substructionum ruinas pertinet nihil omnino incommodi passa est."

† "Tertia die Barbari, quam ingressi fuerint urbem, sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum ædium incendio, sed ne tanto quidem, quantum septingesimo conditionis ejus annó casus effecerat." He compares the Gallic and Neronic fires, and says they were greater than the Gothic. Hist., lib. vii. cap. xxxix.:—"Cujus rei quamvis recens memoria sit, tum si quis ipsius populi Romani et multitudinem videat et vocem audiat, nihil factum, sicut ipsi etiam fatentur, arbitrabitur, nisi aliquantis adhuc existentibus ex incendio ruinis forte doceatur."—Lib. vii. cap. xl.

‡ "Quippe cum supra humanas vires esset, incendere æneas

bered that the supposed piety redeemed the actual violence, of the Goths, and that respect for the vessels of St. Peter's shrine made Orosius almost the apologist of Alaric.

The lamentations of St. Jerome are too loud to allow us to suppose the calamity did not affect the buildings.* He calls the city "the sepulchre of the Roman people," and particularizes that "the walls were half destroyed."†

More confidence might be attached to his account of the ruin and restoration of Rome if he had not attributed the latter to the profession of virginity by a single noble lady.‡

In subsequent times we find the strongest expressions applied to the sack of Rome by Alaric. Pope Gelasius, in a letter to the senator Andromachus

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trabes, et subruere magnarum moles structurarum, ictu fulminum Forum cum imaginibus variis, quæ superstitione miserabili vel deum vel hominem mentiuntur, abjectum est: horumque omnium abominamentorum quod immissa per hostem flamma non adiit, missus e cœlo ignis evertit."—Lib. ii. cap. 15.

* See Epist. cxxvii. ad Principiam; Epist. cxxiii. ad Agruchiam, pp. 953-909, tom. i. Hieron. Opera, Veron. 1734.

† "Urbs tua quondam orbis caput Romani populi sepulchrum est. —Semiruta urbis Romanæ mœnia."—Epist. cxxx. ad Demetriadem, p. 974, tom. i.

‡ He says the victory of Marcellus at Nola did not so raise the spirits of the Romans, afflicted by the battles of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ, as this vow of chastity:— "Tunc lugubres vestes Italia mutavit, et semiruta urbis mœnia pristinum ex parte recepere fulgorem."—Epist. cxxx. ut sup.

(A.D. 496), has the words "when Alaric *overturned* the city."*

Procopius† confines the fire to the quarter near the Salarian gate; but adds that the Goths ravaged the whole city. The despoiling edifices of ornaments, many of which must have been connected with their structure, could not fail to hasten their decay.

Marcellinus mentions that a part of Rome was burnt, and delays the departure of the Barbarians to the sixth day.‡

Cassiodorus,§ a much better and earlier authority in every respect than the three last writers, assures us that "many of the wonders of Rome were burnt." Olympiodorus talks only‖ of the infinite quantity of wealth which Alaric carried away; but we may col-

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* "Cum urbem Alaricus evertit."—See Baronii, *Annales Ecclesiast. cum critice Pagi*, ad an. 496, tom. viii. p. 605; Lucæ, 1740.

† Οἱ δὲ τάς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν, αἱ τῆς πύλης ἄγχιστα ἦσαν· ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ Σαλουστίου, τοῦ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος· ἧς δὴ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡμίκαυτα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔστηκε· τήν τε πόλιν ὅλην λῃσάμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστους διαφθείραντες, πρόσω ἐχώρουν.—Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, lib. i. p. 93, edit. Hœschelii. Aug.

‡ "Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit, partemque ejus cremavit incendio, sextaque die quam ingressus fuerat depredata urbe egressus est."—*Chronic. ap. Sirmond Opera Varia*, tom. ii. p. 274, Venet.

§ "Romam venerunt, quam vastantes, plurima quidem miraculorum ejus igne concremaverunt."—*Hist. Ecclesiast. Tripar.*, lib. xi. cap. 9, p. 368, tom. i.; Rothomagi, 1679.

‖ Ἐξ ἧς χρήματά τε ἄπειρα ἐξεκόμισε.—*Ap. Phot. Bibliot.*, edit. Rothomag., 1653, p. 180. Albinus wished to restore the city, but people were wanting, p. 188.

lect from him also how great was the disaster when he tells us that on the repeopling of the city fourteen thousand returned in one day.

The Gothic historian, who says that fire was not put to the town, is no evidence, being directly contradicted by the above quoted and other authorities.*

The words of the ecclesiastical historians are of strong import: one of them talks of fire and the city lying in ruins;† another repeats the expression of Cassiodorus, that many of the wonders were destroyed;‡ and a third, that the Basilica of St. Peter's was alone spared from the universal rapine. §

That the city partially recovered itself is of course to be allowed. Albinus was active in his attempts at restoration, and the poet Rutilius, who was prefect in 417, not only extols the uninjured remains of antiquity, but prophesies the repair of every ruin. ‖ But the

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* "Ad postremum Romam ingressi Alarico jubente spoliant tantum, non autem, ut solent gentes, ignem supponunt, nec locis sanctorum in aliquo penitus injuriam irrogari patiuntur."—Jormandes *de Reb. Get.*, cap. xxx. p. 85, 86; Lugd. Bat., 1697.

† Καὶ τὸ ἐντεύθεν τῆς τοσαύτης δόξης τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως περιώνυμον, ἀλλόφυλον πῦρ καὶ ξίφος πολέμιον, καὶ αἰχμαλώσια κατεμερίζετο βάρβαρος. ἐν ἐρείπιοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως κειμένης Ἀλάριχος.—Philostorgii *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. xii. ap. Phot. Bibliot., num. 3, p. 534, tom. ii. edit. ut sup.

‡ Τέλος τε τὴν Ῥώμην κατέλαβον καὶ πορθήσαντες αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων θεαμάτων κατέκαυσαν.—Socrat., *Hist. Ecclesias.*, lib. vii. cap. x. p. 283.

§ Sozomen, Hist. Ecclesias., lib. ix. cap. 9.

‖ "Astrorum flammæ renovent occasibus ortus
Lunam finiri cernis ut incipiat."
—Cl. Rut., *Num. Iter.*

whole of his beautiful verses are an hyperbole. He says that Brennus only delayed the chastisement that awaited him, that Pyrrhus was at last defeated, and that Hannibal wept his success; therefore, the downfall of Alaric might be safely foretold. The blazing temples of the Capitol, the aërial aqueducts, the marble sheltered groves, might still be praised; but he confesses that Rome had suffered that which would have *dissolved* another empire;* his prophecies of repair were those of a poet, and the ruins of the palace of Sallust remained to contradict them in the time of Procopius.†

The injury done by Genserick (A.D. 455) was not so great as that of the Goths, and Da Barga despatches his invasion in a few sentences. Jornandes, however, applies the expression *devastation* to his entry.‡ All the writers§ are of accord that the Vandals in their

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* "Illud te reparat quod cætera regna resolvit
Ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis."
—Claud. Rutilii, *Num. Iter.*, ver. 140.

† Bell. Vandal. in loc. cit.

‡ "Quod audiens Gizericus rex Vandalorum, ab Africâ armata classe in Italiam venit, Romamque ingressus cuncta devastat."—Jornand. *de Reb. Get.*, cap. xlv. p. 417, sub fin. Cassiod. oper., fol. 1679.

§ "Conscenderat arces
Evandri massyla phalanx, montesque Quirini
Barbarici pressere pedes, rursusque revexit
Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia Barche."
—Sidon. Apollin. carmen vii. *Paneg. Avit.*, vers. 441.

"Gizericus sollicitatus a relicta Valentiniani, ut malum fama dispergit, priusquam Avitus Augustus fieret, Romam ingreditur, direp-

fourteen days' residence emptied Rome of her wealth; and as we are informed of the robbery of half the tiles of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, and of all the treasures of the Temple of Peace and the palace of the Cæsars,* it is reasonable to suppose that the precious metals were extracted and torn down from all the structures, public and private, a violence which, without the use of fire or engines, must have loosened many of the compact masses, and been totally destructive of smaller edifices. An ecclesiastical historian twice mentions that Genserick set fire to Rome, but the silence of other writers has discredited his authority.†

The sack of Rome by Ricimer (A.D. 472) is generally overlooked by the apologists of the early invaders; but it should not be forgotten that the "Barbarians, Arians, and Infidels" were indulged by the patrician in the plunder of all but two regions of the city.‡

Considerable stress has been laid upon the gran-

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tisque opibus Romanorum Carthaginem redit."—Idatii *Episcop. Chronic.*, ap. Sirmond. Opera varia, Venet., p. 239, tom. ii.

"Gensericus rex . . . . invitatus ex Africâ Romam ingressus est eâque urbe rebus omnibus spoliatâ," &c.—Marcellini *Chronic.*, ap. Sirmond., tom. ii. p. 274.

* Bell. Vandal., p. 97, edit. citat. Οὔτε χαλκοῦ οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις φεισάμενος.

† Ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν πυρπολήσας πάντοτε λῃϊσάμενος τὴν Ῥώμην ἐμπεπρῆσθαι.—Evagrii *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 298.

‡ Annali d' Italia, vol. iii. p. 222; Milan, 1744. "Ed ecco l' amaro frutto dell' aver gl' Imperadori voluto per lor guardie, o per ausiliarj, gente Barbara, Ariana, e di niuna fede."

deur of the structures which still remained, after the above calamities, to be admired by Theodoric; but the praise of what is left does not include a proof that little has been lost: were it so, Rome would appear to have not suffered much even in the middle ages, when her fragments were the wonder of the pilgrims of every nation. It must, besides, be remarked that the larger monuments, the Forum of Trajan, the Circus Maximus, the Coliseum, the Capitol, the Theatre of Pompey, the Palace of the Cæsars, are those particularly recorded by the minister of the Gothic monarch, and of those the two latter were in want of repair.* A palace partly in ruins† on the Pincian mount, marbles and square blocks everywhere lying prostrate,‡ the desertion and decay of many houses, must, partially at least, be attributed to the fire of Alaric, the spoliation of the Vandals, and the sack of Ricimer. To Vitiges, who came down on Rome like a raging lion,§ must be ascribed the de-

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* Cassiodori Variar. epist. li. lib. iv.; epist. v. lib. vii.

† "Ut marmora quæ de domo Pinciana constat esse deposita ad Ravennatem urbem per catabulenses vestra ordinatione dirigantur." —Epist. x. ad Festum, lib. iii. tom. i. p. 43, edit. cit.

‡ "Et ideo illustris magnificentia tua marmorum quadratos qui passim diruti negliguntur .... et ornent aliquid saxa jacentia *post ruinas*."—Epist. vii. lib. i. p. 26, tom. i. edit. cit. In another place he says, "Facilis est ædificiorum ruina incolarum subtracta custodia," &c.

§ "Quod audiens Vitiges, ut leo furibundus omnem Gothorum exercitum ... Ravennâque egressus Romanas arces obsidione longa fatigat."—Jornand. *de Rebus Geticis*, cap. lx. p. 178, edit. 1697.

struction of the aqueducts, which rendered useless the immense thermæ; and as these appear never to have been frequented afterwards, their dilapidation must be partially, but only partially, ascribed to the Goths. Vitiges burnt everything without the walls, and commenced the desolation of the Campagna.* Totila† is known to have burnt a third part of the walls; and, although he desisted from his meditated destruction of every monument, the extent of the injury inflicted by that conqueror may have been greater than is usually supposed. Procopius affirms that he did burn "not a small portion of the city," especially beyond the Tyber.‡ An author of the Chronicles records a fire and the§ total abandonment of the city for more than forty days: and it must be mentioned that there is no certain trace of the palace of the

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* St. Anastasii, de vitis Pontific. Rom. edit. Bianchini; Romæ, 1731, in vit. S. Silverii. p. 84.

† Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τωτῖλας, ἔγνω μὲν Ῥώμην καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος. . . τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιβόλου ἐν χωρίοις πολλοῖς τοσοῦτον καθεῖλεν, ὅσον ἐς τριτημόριον τοῦ παντὸς μάλιστα, ἐμπιπρᾶν δὲ τὰ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν τὰ κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἔμελλε Ῥώμην δὲ μηλόβοτον καταστήσεσθαι.—*Bellum Gothic.*, ἡ ἐ, p. 289, edit. cit.

‡ Ibid., lib. iv. cap. xxii. and xxxiii.

§ "Totila dolo Isaurorum ingreditur Romam die xvi. kal. Januarias, ac evertit muros, domos aliquantas comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit. Hos ipsos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit; post quam devastationem xl aut amplius dies Roma fuit ita desolata ut nemo ibi hominum *nisi* bestiæ morarentur. Hinc veniens Belisarius murorum partem restaurat, venienteque Totila ad pugnam resistit."—Marcellini *Chronic.* ap. Sirmond., p. 295, edit. cit.

Cæsars having survived the irruption of Totila.* It must have been at his second entry that this monarch "lived with the Romans as a father with his children," and not at the first, as might be thought from the annals of Italy.† In the five captures of Rome (from 536 to 552), in which she was both attacked and defended by Barbarians, it is impossible but that many of the architectural ornaments of the city must have been utterly destroyed or partially injured; and the particular mention made by Procopius of the care taken by Narses to restore the capital is an evidence of the previous injury.‡

With Totila, the dilapidation of Rome by the Barbarians is generally allowed to terminate. The incursion of the Lombards in 578 and 593 completed the

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See notice of the Palatine in a subsequent chapter.

† Muratori seems to confound the two captures.—*Annali d'Italia*, tom. iii. pp. 410, 411, ad an. 546, and p. 420, ad an. 549. As the Isaurians were the traitors on both occasions, the confusion was the more natural; but it certainly was of the second capture that Anastasius spoke in the following words:—"Die autem tertia decima Totila introivit in civitatem Romanam indict. 14. (13) per portam sancti Pauli. Tota enim nocte fecit buccina clangi usque dum cunctus populus fugeret, aut per ecclesias se celaret ne gladio Romani vitam finirent. Ingressus autem rex habitavit cum Romanis quam pater cum filiis." In vit. Vigilii. edit. citat., p. 89. Muratori mentions that the Isaurians opened the *Asinarian* gate at the first capture, and the *gate of St. Paul* at the second, and yet he applies the clemency of Totila to his entry by the first, not, as Anastasius says, by the second gate.

‡ De Bell. Gothic., lib. iv. cap. xxxiv. The bridges of Narses over the Anio remain to attest his diligence.

desolation of the Campagna, but did not affect the city itself. Their king, Liutprand, in 741 has been absolved from his supposed violence;* but Astolphus, in 754, did assault the city furiously, and whatever structures were near the walls must be supposed to have suffered from his attack.† From that period Rome was not forcibly entered, that is, not after a siege, until the fall of the Carlovingian race, when it was defended by Barbarians in the name of the emperor Lambert, and assaulted and taken by Barbarians, commanded by Arnulphus, son of Carloman of Bavaria (A.D. 896). It has been agreed not to give this invidious name to the Germans under the Othos, the Henries, and the Frederics, or to the Normans of Guiscard; but it is hoped that, without including these spoilers, enough has been said to show that the absolution of the earlier Barbarians from all charge of injury done to the public edifices of Rome is only one of the many paradoxes which are to be cleared from the surface of Italian literature.‡

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* Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 284.

† Annali, &c., tom. iv. p. 312.

‡ "In ciò nondimeno che appartiene a' pubblici edificj di Roma, dobbiam confessare a gloria de' Barbari stessi, che non troviam prova alcuna che da essi fossero rovinati o arsi."—Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett.*, &c., tom. ii. par. i. lib. i. p. 74. After such an assertion the learned librarian need not have been surprised that the author of the Mémoires pour la vie de Pétrarque' (p. 514) exclaimed, "Il faut avouer qu'il y a dans votre littérature des choses singulières et tout à fait inconcevables."—See *Storia*, &c., tom. v. par. 11, lib. iii. p. 460.

We next come to—

THE CHRISTIANS.

The injuries done by the Christian clergy to the architectural beauty of Rome may be divided into two kinds: those which were commanded or connived at by the Popes for useful repairs or constructions, and those which were encouraged or permitted from motives of fanaticism. It will be easy to make the distinction without the division, and very different feelings will be excited by dilapidations for the service of the city and for that of the church.

The conversion of Constantine cannot be denied to have changed the destination of many public buildings, and to have excited a demand for the ornaments of the baptised Basilicas, which, we have ocular proof at this day, was satisfied at the expense of other edifices. If an arch of Trajan was despoiled to adorn his triumph, other structures were robbed to contribute to the splendour of his conversion.* The figure and the decorations of buildings appropriated to the new religion necessarily were partially changed, and that such a change was detrimental to their architecture the early Basilical churches still exist as an

* Nardini, lib. vi. cap. xv., seems to doubt or not to determine this, but owns the sculpture is of the time of Trajan. A part of this arch was dug up near the column of Trajan in the time of Vacca. See a subsequent chapter.

evidence.* The temples of Rome were not universally shut until the edict of Honorius (A.D. 399); but an Italian writer† has shown, with some success, that Christianity had been actively employed before that period in destroying the symbols and haunts of the ancient superstition.

A law of Theodosius the Great ordered the destruction of the temples at Alexandria;‡ and though it has been triumphantly quoted in favour of Christian forbearance that St. Ambrose§ found the baths, the porticoes, and the squares of Rome full of idols in 383, yet another saint boasts that in 405 all the statues in the temples were overthrown.‖ The sale of the

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* Look at the church of St. Agnes without the walls. The Christians took or imitated ornaments of all kinds from the temples. In that church the pomegranates of Proserpine, the emblem of mortality, are on the balustrades of the high altar. A thousand years afterwards Leda and the Swan were still thought appropriate figures for the bronze doors of St. Peter's.

† Pietro Lazeri, Discorso della consecrazione del Panteone fatta da Bonifazio IV. Roma, 1749, pp. 39, 40.

‡ Socrat. Hist. Ecclesias., lib. v. cap. xvi. The bishop Theophilus marched about the town carrying in triumph the *phalli* taken from the *Serapeon*.

§ "Non illis satis sunt lavacra, non porticus, non plateæ occupatæ simulacris?"—D. Ambros. *Epist. cont. Symmach. Lugd. Bat.*, 1653, p. 455. "Eversis in urbe Roma omnibus simulacris."—*Serm. de verb. evang.*, cap. 10, n. 13, in fin. oper. tom. v. par. 1, col. 547.

‖ Dissertazione sulle rovine di Roma, dall' Abate Carlo Fea, Storia delle Arti, &c., tom. iii. p. 267 to 416, edit. Rom. 1784. The Abate strangely quotes St. Ambrose against St. Augustine, who talks of Rome eighteen years afterwards.

idols in Greece had begun with Constantine.* The law of Honorius which forbade the destruction of the edifices themselves, proves, if anything, that such an outrage had been perpetrated, and was to be apprehended. A prohibitory edict must suppose an offence. It is not easy to interpret in more than one way the following words of St. Jerome: "The golden Capitol has lost all its splendour; the temples of Rome are covered with dust and cobwebs; the very city is moved from its foundations, and the overflowing people rush before the half torn up shrines to the tombs of the martyrs."† The squalid appearance of the Capitol is mentioned in another passage of the same writer,‡ where the temples of Jove and his ceremonies are said metaphorically, or actually, to have fallen down. In the year 426, Theodosius the younger ordered the destruction of the temples and fanes. A commentator§ has endeavoured to reason this away, and another

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* Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναοὺς κλείων καὶ καθαιρῶν καὶ δημοσιεύων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλματα.—Socrat., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. i. cap. iii.

† "Auratum squalet Capitolium. Fuligine et araneorum telis omnia Romæ templa cooperta sunt. Movetur urbs sedibus suis, et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad martyrum tumulos."—*Epist.* cvii. *ad Lætam*, Hieron. opera, tom. i. p. 672. Veron., 1734. Yet this was before Christianity could be traced back two generations in Rome. "Fiunt non nascuntur Christiani," says the same saint in the same place.

‡ "Squalet Capitolium, templa Jovis et cæremoniæ conciderunt." —Lib. ii. advers. *Jovinian.* tom. ii. p. 384.

§ Godefroy [*Gottofredus.*] — Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c., p. 284, note (C). The words are, "cunctaque eorum fana, templa, delubra, siqua etiam nunc restant integra, præcepto magistratuum

writer has been eager to show that the mandate was addressed to the eastern Illyricum. To this it may be replied, that it is to be inferred that province was thought most attached to paganism, and that the temples had been preserved there when in the capitals they had been overthrown. An ecclesiastical writer, only twelve years after this law, talks of the order, or of the effect of it, as being general; saying, that "the destruction of the idolatrous fanes was from the foundation, and so complete that his contemporaries could not perceive a vestige of the former superstition." * The same author has a much stronger expression in another passage: "Their temples are so destroyed that the appearance of their form no longer remains, nor can those of our times recognise the shape of their altars; as for their materials, they are dedicated to the fanes of the martyrs." † The opinion of the Cardinal Baronius is positive to the zeal and the

destrui, conlocationeque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari præcipimus."—*Codex* Theod., lib. xvi. tit. 10, de Pagan. sacrif. et templis leg. 18.

* Τούτου δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν εἰδωλικῶν σηκῶν τὰ λειπόμενα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασπασθῆναι προσέταξεν ὥστε τοὺς μέθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσομένους μηδὲν ἴχνος τῆς προτέρας ἐξαπάτης θεάσασθαι.—Theodoriti *Episcop. Cyri. Ecclesias. Hist.*, lib. v. cap. xxxvii. p. 243, edit. Amstelod. 1695. He published his history about 439. See the preface by Valesius.

† "Horum namque templa sic destructa sunt ut ne figurarum quidem permansit species, nec ararum formam hujus sæculi homines sciant: harum autem materia omnis martyrum fanis dicata est." From Theodoret's eighth discourse on the martyrs. The translation of Sirmond is quoted, the original not being before the writer.

destruction: "As soon as this long-desired permission of breaking the idols was obtained from the Christian prince, the just zeal of the Christian people broke out at last in the throwing down and breaking of the pagan gods." And he before exclaims: "It is incredible with what animosity the Faithful at Rome leapt upon the idols."*

After this law no mention is made in the codes of temples or their materials, and if these edifices were legally protected up to the time of Justinian they must be supposed to be included under the head of public buildings. Their protection is, however, very doubtful. Temples are not found amongst the wonders admired by Theodoric, except the half-stripped Capitoline fane is to be enumerated: and Procopius confines his notices to the Temple of Peace, which he alludes to cursorily, as being in the Forum of that name,† and to the Temple of Janus,‡ whose doors there was still enough of pleasantry or paganism left

* "Hæc semel a christiano principe idola frangendi impetrata diu optata licentia, exarsit christiani populi justus zelus in desturbandis confringendisque deorum gentilitium simulacris ——— vix credi potest quanta animositate Fideles Romæ in idola insilierint."—*Annales Ecclesias. cum critice Pagi*, tom. vi. p. 51, Lucæ, 1740. The cardinal talks of a period rather prior even to the date of Theodoret. Temples, in certain precincts, were perhaps saved from violence. "Claudian boasts that Honorius was guarded in the Palatine by the temples of the gods." "Tot circum delubra videt," &c. See subsequent notice of the Palatine.

† Lib. iv. Bell. Goth. cap. xxi. Maltrito interprete.

‡ Lib. i. cap. xxv. ibid.

in Rome to attempt to open during the distress of the Gothic siege. Stilicho* found no law to prevent him or his wife from partially stripping off the ornaments of the Capitoline Temple; and the burning of the Sibylline books by the same Christian hero evinces the temper of the times. In the reign of Justinian a widow was in possession of the ruins of a temple on the Quirinal, and made a present of eight columns to the Emperor for his metropolitan St. Sophia.† The temples then were partly in private hands, and therefore not universally protected as public edifices. The pagan structures would naturally suffer more at the first triumph of Christianity than afterwards, when the rage and the merit of destruction must have diminished. And after the danger of a relapse was no longer to be feared, it is not unlikely that some of the precious vestiges of the ancient worship might be considered under the guard of the laws. In this way we may account for the permission asked in one instance to despoil a temple for the ornament of a

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* "Nam Zosimus tradit cum Theodosius Romam venit, hoc scilicet anno, Stiliconem ducem utriusque militiæ e foribus Capitolii laminas aureas abstulisse, ejusque uxorem Serenam nomine, detraxisse e collo Rheæ deorum matri mundum muliebrem suoque ipsius illigasse collo."—Baron. *Ann. Eccl. ad an.* 389, in loc. et edit. citat. For the burning the Sibylline books, see the same place, and the *Iter* of Rutilius.

† Winckelmann, Osservazioni sull' architettura degli antichi, cap. ii. sec. 4, p. 88, note (B). *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 302, note (D) tom. iii. of Fea's translation.

church;* a circumstance which is quoted to show the care of those structures, but which is surely as fair a proof of their neglect.† The consecration of the Pantheon did not take place until the year 609 or 610, two hundred years after the shutting of the temples; and that event is allowed to be the first recorded instance of a similar conversion. If many of the immense number of fanes and temples had been preserved entire until that time it is probable that the example would have been followed in more cases than we know to have been adopted. The Christians found the form of the Basilica much more suitable to their worship than that of the temple. They did not consecrate a single sacred edifice for more than two hundred years after the triumph of their religion. They cannot be proved to have ever taken the entire form of more than four or five.‡ What was the fate of the remainder? We hear of fifty-six churches built upon the

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* "Hic cooperuit ecclesiam omnem ex tegulis æneis quas levavit de templo, quod appellatur Romæ [Romuli] ex consensu piissimi Heraclei imperatoris."—Anastas. *in vit. Honorii I.*, p. 96, tom. i. edit. citat. The temple is called the temple of Romulus in Via Sacra, in the Life of Paul I., p. 175, tom. i., &c. The church which gained by the robbery was St. Peter's. Nibby (Foro Romano, p. 214) supposes the temple to have been that of Venus and Rome.

† Dissertazione, &c., p. 286.

‡ The Pantheon, Cosmas and Damianus, St. Theodore, St. Stephano in Rotundis (perhaps), St. Maria, Egizziaca (doubtful), the supposed temple of Vesta on the Tiber, St. Hadrian (the façade torn off). Can any other be mentioned?

sites, or supposed sites, of temples.* Is it then too rash to believe that so many structures, which we know to have disappeared at an early period, which were abandoned, which were regarded as an abomination, and which tradition declares to have stood upon the sites of churches, were despoiled, for the most part, by the zeal of the early Christians, and their materials employed to the honour of the triumphant religion? It is particularly told of Gregory III. that he finished a chapel to certain martyrs *in ruins*.† Most of the lives of the early Popes in Anastasius consist of little else than the building of churches. Those of Hadrian I., Leo III., and Gregory IV., occupy many pages with the mere enumeration of their names.‡ Both piety and economy would prompt the spoliation of the nearest ancient structures connected with the old superstition; and the only indulgence shown to the pagan deities was when their baptism might, by a little distortion, entrust their fanes to the protection of a similar saint. §

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* See De templis gentilitium in templa divorum mutatis, cap. ix. Georg. Fabricii, Descriptio Romæ ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman., tom. iii. p. 462.

† "Cœmeterium beatorum martyrum Januarii, Urbani, Tiburtii, Valeriani et Maximi, et eorum tecta in ruinis posita perfecit."—Anastas. *in vit. Gregor. III.*, p. 145, tom. i. edit. citat. We find Pope John III. afterwards living in this cemetery.

‡ See an account of the rapid building of churches by the Popes after Gregory III. in Donatus. *Roma vetus*, lib. iv. cap. viii.

§ Thus Romulus and Remus became Cosmas and Damianus. Romulus, a foundling and a warrior, and a healer of young children,

The more prominent symbols of the ancient religion would hardly be suffered to stand after the temples were shut. Da Barga asserts as a fact, that there were marks on the obelisks of their having been all overthrown with the exception of one, which was not dedicated to any of the false gods of antiquity.* However, Constantius erected one of these monuments† and two were standing in the ninth century, if we are to credit a barbarous regionary of that period.‡ Da Barga extends his praise of the pontiffs to the destruction of the theatres and circuses, the frequenting of which, dedicated as they were to false gods, Lactantius and Tertullian thought equally nefarious with sacrificing to Jove or Serapis. We know that an attempt was made to put the Circensian games at Rome under new patronage, but that they were entirely discontinued in the year 496, when the people declared they would not have Jesus Christ in the place of Mars, and the provision for the festival was distributed to the poor.§

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was changed for St. Theodore, a foundling and warrior, and also healer of children. Mars had not a violent metamorphosis to reappear as St. Martina; but there is some doubt of the latter conversion.

* That of the Vatican. See de privatorum publicorumque, &c., p. 1891, in loco citato. "Neque enim existimare possumus cæteros obeliscos vel terræ motu vel fulmine dejectos esse, cum vectium et ferramentorum vestigia, quibus eversi sunt, adhuc extant infimæ partis lateribus quæ basim spectant."

† That now standing before the Lateran.

‡ The *pyramid* of Sallust, and the *pyramid* near St. Lorenzo in Luciana. The regionary is quoted afterwards.

§ Baronius, Annal. Ecclesias. ad an. 496, p. 606, tom. viii. edit. citat. One of the obelisks of the Circus Maximus was lying on the

The same writer, after a diligent study of the fathers, and having commenced with the contrary opinion, is convinced that Gregory the Great was the chief instrument of this destruction, and notably of the Circus Maximus, near which he built a church.* The Circus, however, is recorded by the regionary of the ninth century.† The baths, a greater abomination, he is also convinced owed their destruction to the same piety, and those of Diocletian and Caracalla showed in his time evident marks of human violence. He adds that there is no proof of these immense structures having been ruined by earthquakes, and to this it may be subjoined, that when the Roman families of the middle ages had occupied the Coliseum and other ancient monuments, they did not take possession of the baths, with the exception of those of Constantine on the Quiri-

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ground when the regionary Victor wrote; and it is a very curious fact, as any one may see, though it has not been previously remarked, that the "Castellum," at the Porta San Lorenzo, was already buried within a foot and a half of the spring of the arch, when that gate was made by the Emperor Honorius—a decisive proof of the early ruin and accumulation of soil in the ancient city.

The same remark applies to the clearing of the Porta Maggiore and the discovery of the Baker's tomb, in 1838, when, says Cardinal Wiseman, "an excrescent bastion at the outside of the gate was subjected to excision" (Four Popes, p. 459)—rather a singular mode of telling a simple fact, and sounding more like an operation on the human body than on stone and mortar (1858).

* De privatorum publicorumque, &c., p. 1889.

† The last vestiges of the Circus Maximus were carried away about the time of Paul V. See Vedute degli Antichi Vestigj di Roma di Alò Giovannili, in the plate representing those ruins.

nal. The last mention of them in any way that can make us suppose them entire, is in the regionary of the ninth century. Their precious materials, statues, and marble coatings and columns, would naturally be carried away when the baths had ceased to be frequented; but some violence must have been necessary to throw down so large a portion of their masses: nor could this be done for the sake of grinding down their materials, which are of brick. So early as the tenth century, there were three churches built in the Alexandrine baths,* which must therefore have been previously in ruins. It must be confessed, at the same time, that the evidence against the Christians is not equally strong when applied to the theatres and thermæ, as it appears to be referring to the temples. As the defence of Gregory the Great has been successfully undertaken against his principal accuser, it is of little moment to mention that a Monsignor Segardi, in a speech which he recited in the Capitol,† in 1703, was bold enough to state and enforce his belief of all the charges made against the saint, none of which can be traced higher than nearly six centuries after his death.‡

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* Roma ex ethnica sacra. Martinelli, cap. ix. p. 167, quoted in *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 358.

† Prose degli Arcadi, tom. i. p. 126. *Dissertaz.*, p. 287. Note (H.)

‡ Jacob. Brucker, Historiæ criticæ philosophiæ, from p. 633 to p. 672, edit. Lips. 1768, sect. iii. de nat. et indole et modo Phil. Schol. in appendice. Do what he will, Brucker cannot trace any of the stories, the suppression of *mathesis*, the statue-breaking, or library-burning, higher than John of Salisbury. He made a great mistake in calling Gregory the master of John Diaconus, who lived

The discouragement of *mathesis*, whether it meant magic or profane learning in general, would be only a presumptive proof of the tasteless ignorance or credulity of the pontiff; and a more satisfactory argument than the silence of his biographers may be deduced from the belief that Gregory had but little time or means for the building of churches, and consequently for the spoliation of ancient edifices. He is not to be suspected of wanton violence, for the destruction of buildings is the subject of one of the complaints with which he bewails the wretchedness of the times.* A large column was, however, transferred in those days (608), from some other structure to the Forum, and dedicated to the murderer Phocas. The successors of Gregory were less scrupulous, it should seem, than himself. We have seen that Honorius I. removed the gilt tiles from the temples of Romulus. Gregory III. employed nine columns of some ancient building for the church of St. Peter.† The rebuilding of the city walls by four

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two centuries afterwards, and is reproved by Tiraboschi. *Storia*, &c., tom. iii. lib. ii. p. 99 to p. 114, edit. Venet., 1795. The story of his throwing down the statues can only be traced to Leo of Orvietto, a Dominican writer of the 14th century. See Testimonia quorundam veterum scriptorum de St. Gregorio Papa, at the end of the Venice edition of St. Gregory's works; and St. Gregorius Magnus vindicatus, by Gian Girolamo Gradenigo, in the sixteenth volume.

* "Ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus."—*Homilia in Ezechielem*, lib. ii. hom. vi. p. 70, tom. v. Opp. omn., Venet. 1776.

† Anastas. in Vit. St. Greg. II.

popes in the same century (eighth), Sisinius, Gregory II. and III., and St. Adrian I., was an useful but a destructive operation.* Their lime-kilns must have been supplied from the ancient city. It is to a presumed necessity, and not to superstition, that the succeeding spoliation of the ancient works of art by the popes must chiefly be attributed; but it will be observed that the embellishment of the Christian churches was the chief motive for this destruction, and consequently ranks it in the class at present under examination. Pope Hadrian I., by the infinite labour of the people employed during a whole year, threw down an immense structure of Tiburtine stone to enlarge the church of St. Maria in Cosmedin.† Donus I. (elected in 676) had before stripped the marble from a large pyramid between the Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo, vulgarly known by the name of the

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* "Qui et calcarias pro restauratione murorum jussit decoquere." —Anastas. *in vit. Sisinii*, p. 127., tom. i. edit. citat. He was Pope in 708. "Hic exordio Pontificatus sui calcarias decoqui jussit, et a Porta sancti Laurentii inchoans hujus civitatis muros restaurare decreverat, et aliquam partem faciens emergentibus incongruis, variisque tumultibus, præpiditus est."—*Ibid. in vit. St. Gregorii II.*, who was Pope from 714 to 731. "Hujus temporibus plurima pars murorum hujus civitatis Romanæ restaurata sunt."—*Ibid. in vit. Gregorii III.*, p. 145. See also the same in vit. St. Hadriani, p. 210. Gregory was Pope from 731 to 740—Hadrian from 772 to 794.

† "Nam maximum monumentum de Tibertino tufo super eam dependens per anni circulum plurimum multitudinem populi congruens multorumque lignorum struem incendens demolitus est."— —Anastas. *in vit. St. Hadriani I.*, p. 214, edit. citat.: he repeats it in the next page.

tomb of Scipio.* The spoil was laid on the floor of the *atrium* of St. Peter. The history of the middle ages cannot be supposed to have preserved many such precise records; but the times after the return of the popes from Avignon are sufficiently eloquent. Paul II.† employed the stones of the Coliseum to build a palace. Sixtus IV. took down a temple, supposed by Pomponius Lætus that of Hercules, near St. Maria, in Cosmedin;‡ and the same pontiff destroyed the remains of an ancient bridge to make 400 cannon balls for the castle of St. Angelo.§ He also pulled down the remains of the Domitian tomb, near where the Porta del Popolo now stands, and employed the marble in building bastions near that gate. Alexander VI.‖ threw down the pyramid which Donus had stripped to make a way for his gallery between the Vatican and the castle of St Angelo. Paul III. and his nephews laboured incessantly at the quarry of the Coliseum. This pope applied himself to

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* Nardini, Roma Ant., lib. vii. cap. xiii.

† See Donatus, Roma Vetus, lib. iv. cap. ix, for Paul II., who reigned from 1464 to 1470.

‡ Donatus, &c., lib. ii. cap. xxv.

§ Stephen. Infessura, Diar. Urb. Rom. says this happened in 1484. The bridge was called that of Horatius Cocles, "e le dette palle forono fabricate a marmorata dove fu finito di distruggere un ponte di travertino rotto, il quale si chiamava il ponte di Orazio Cocles." *Scriptores Rer. Italic.*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 1178.

‖ The pyramid was bigger than that of Cestius, was mentioned by Blondus, Fulvius, and Marlianus, and is seen on the bronze doors of St. Peter's. Nardini, lib. vii. cap. xiii. Alexander reigned from 1490 to 1503.

the Theatre of Marcellus, to the Forum of Trajan, to a temple usually called of Pallas, opposite the temple of Faustina, to that temple itself, to the Arch of Titus, and to a large mass of ancient work which he levelled to the ground in the Piazza del Popolo,* and had not the excuse of piety for this wide devastation.

Sixtus V. carried away the remains of the Septizonium of Severus for the service of St. Peter's, and a contemporary positively mentions that he threw down certain statues still remaining in the Capitol.† The remains of two temples, one near St. Lorenzo in pane perna, and the other near the Porta Pia, were discovered in the time of this pope, and no sooner discovered than destroyed. Urban VIII. took off the bronze from the portico of the Pantheon‡ to make cannon for the castle of St. Angelo, and to construct the confessional of St. Peter. He took away also some of the base of the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella for the fountain of

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* Venuti, Roma Moderna. Rione X. p. 353, tom. ii. Donatus, lib. iv. cap. ix. Dissertazione sulle rovine, &c., p. 399. Paul III. began to reign in 1533, and died in 1549.

† Da Barga. Commentarius de Obelisco, ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. in loc. citat., p. 1931. He mentioned this to the honour of Sixtus, to whom he dedicated his commentary, and he believed it an imitation of the conduct of Gregory the Great and others. "Quorum pietatem, Pius V. et Sixtus V. Pontifices Max. sic imitati sunt, ut eorum alter ex ædibus Vaticanis hujusmodi omnes statuas alio amandare cogitaverat, alter e turre capitolina incredibili sua cum laude dejici jusserit."—See his Treatise on the Destroyers of Rome, &c., p. 1887, in loco citat.

‡ See subsequent notice of the Pantheon.

Trevi.* Paul V. removed the entablature and pediment of a structure in the Forum of Nerva for his fountain on the Janiculum, and transported the remaining column of the Temple of Peace to decorate the place before St. Maria Maggiore.† Lastly, Alexander VII. took down the arch commonly called "di Portogallo" in order to widen the Corso.‡ A little more taste and ingenuity might surely have preserved the monument and yet improved the modern street. The inferior

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* Echinard, Agro Romano, p. 295, edit. 1750. Yet Gibbon says he has nothing else to allege against this pope than the punning saying, "Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barbarini."—Cap. lxxi. p. 424, tom xii.

† Venuti, Roma Moderna. Rione I. p. 47, tom. i.

‡ The remains of this arch are seen in Donatus, fig. 32. He (lib. iii.) thought it of Drusus, but without reason. See Nardini (lib. vi. cap. ix.). Alexander VII. was so proud of this destruction that he chose to record it by an inscription, which is here given, because it is esteemed the best specimen of lapidary writing in Rome:—

Alex. VII. Pontif. Max.
Viam latam feriatæ urbis hippodromum
Qua interjectis ædificiis impeditam
Qua procurrentibus deformatam
Liberam rectamque reddidit
Publicæ commoditati et ornamento.
Anno Sal. MDC. LXV.

The bas-reliefs on the arch are now in the Capitoline palace of the *Conservatori*. A large volume has been devoted to the labours of Alexander VII., with plates of some merit. It is called IL NUOVO TEATRO DELLE FABBRICHE ET EDIFICII IN PROSPETTIVA DI ROMA MODERNA SOTTO IL FELICE PONTIFICATO *di N. S. Papa Alessandro VII.: Date in luce da Gio. Iacomo Rossi alla Pace.* The date is 1665.

clergy were, it is probable, much more guilty than the pontiffs, and a volume of no inconsiderable bulk has been composed by one of their own order to enumerate the pagan materials applied to the use of the church.* As long as the ancient monuments were considered the property of that church, it does not appear that any protection was granted to them, and a writer, who is in some degree an advocate for the clergy, has been obliged to confess that when the ruins were in possession of the modern senate and people, they were less subject to spoliation than in preceding periods.† The superstition of the clergy and the people at large prevented them from attributing a proportionate value to objects not connected with their ecclesiastical legends; and when the relics of the ancient city had begun to be regarded with somewhat less indifference, they seem to have been respectable from some pious fable‡ attached to their sites rather than by any antiquarian importance. Even the great Sixtus Quintus could not restore an obelisk without affixing an inscription devoted to the purposes

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* Marangoni, Delle Cose Gentilesche e Profane transporte ad Uso e Ornamento delle Chiese; see also Fioravante Martinelli, Roma ex Ethnica Sacra.

† The Abate Fea in his dissertation.

‡ See the above-cited collection of designs, entitled 'Vedute degli Antichi Vestigj di Roma, di Alo Giovannili,' drawn in the time of Paul V.: every picture is enlivened by a massacre of martyrs, or a miracle, or a dedication of a church. The Vestal with her sieve, and Curtius leaping into the gulf, are the only heathen fictions or facts honoured with any notice.

of religious imposture.* The very study of the ancient relics is perverted, and rendered subservient to church fable. Cardinal Baronius, for the sake of finding St. Peter's prison at *St. Niccolas in carcere*, distorted the position of the Roman Forum: and Nardini himself, in other respects so incredulous, affirms that there is a *certain* tradition of the confinement of that apostle in the Mamertine dungeon, and of the fountain springing up for the baptizement of his jailer.† What were the merits of the latter pontiffs in the preservation of the ancient fabrics will be seen in another place: the above remarks may have served to show how far their predecessors and the religion of which they were the chiefs are to be taken into account in treating of the ruin and neglect of these venerable monuments.

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* Christum Dominum
Quem Augustus
De Virgine
Nasciturum
Vivens adoravit
Seque deinceps
Dominum
Dici vetuit
Adoro.

† Nardini, lib. v. cap. xi. See a notice of the Temple of the Roman Piety.

CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION OF CAUSES OF DILAPIDATION.

THE agency of the barbarians and of the catholic religion is far from being an adequate cause for so little being left of that city, which was called the epitome of the whole world.* It is proposed, therefore, to take a cursory view of the general progress of decay arising from other causes of destruction.

A tremendous fire in the year 700 or 703, of the city, had made it necessary to rebuild the greater part of Rome.† This was undertaken by Augustus, and the famous eulogium on the grandeur of his restoration‡ shows what materials were a prey to the fire of Nero, from which only four regions escaped untouched, and

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* Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς οἰκουμένης is an expression of Athenæus, quoted in one of the topographers, Julius Minutulus.

† Orosii, Hist., lib. vi. cap. xiv., and lib. vii. cap. ii. Fourteen *vici* were consumed.

‡ "He found it brick, he left it marble;" or, as Dion says, Τὴν Ῥώμην γηΐνην παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω.—*Hist. Rom.*, lib. lvi. p. 829, tom. ii., edit. Hamb. 1750. What is said of Themistocles is a much finer eulogium:—Ὃς ἐπόιησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστὴν εὑρὼν ἐπιχειλῆ.—Aristoph., *Equit.*, v. 811: "He made our city full, having found it empty."

which was fatal to the most venerable fanes and trophies of the earlier ages.* We may conclude from a passage of Tacitus, that so early as the reign of Vitellius a work belonging to the time of the republic was a rare object.† The fire and civil war which destroyed the Capitol during that reign, that which raged for three days and nights under Titus,‡ the conflagration in the thirteenth year of Trajan which consumed a part of the Forum and of the golden house of Nero,§ must have contributed to the obliteration of the ancient city; and if there was scarcely any relic of republican Rome when Tacitus wrote, it may be suspected that the capital even of the first Cæsars had begun to disappear at an earlier period than is usually imagined. The temples under the Capitol bear witness to the falls and fires which had required the constant attention and repair of the senate,‖ and became more common after the transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople. Popular tumults

* Sueton. in vit. Neronis. Tacit. Annal., lib. xv. cap. xxxviii.-xli.

† "Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Cæsarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit."—*Hist.*, lib. iii. cap. lxxii.

‡ Sueton. in vit. Titi.

§ G. Syncellus in Chronog., p. 347, quoted in Dissertazione, &c., p. 293.

‖ D. N. Constantino . Maximo . Pio . Felici . ac . Triumphatori . semper . Augusto . ob . amplificatam . toto . orbe . rem . publicam . tactis . consiliisque . S. P. Q. R. Dedicante . Anicio . Paulino . Juniore . C. V. Cos. ord. Præf. urbi. S. P. Q. R.

S. P. Q. R. Ædem . Concordiæ . vetustate . collapsam . in . meliorem . faciem . opere . et . cultu . splendidiore restituerunt.

This inscription was found near the ruins under the Capitol, and transferred to the Lateran, whence it has disappeared.

were then more frequent and injurious. In one which occurred in the year 312 the Temple of Fortune was burnt down.* The Palace of Symmachus,† that of the prefect Lampadius, in 367, and it is probable the Baths of Constantine, each suffered by the same violence; and an inscription which records the repair of the latter, informs us also how small were the means of the senate and people for restoring the ancient structures.‡ The destruction must not be confined to one element. The

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The words now remaining on the frieze of the Temple with the eight columns are

Senatus Populusque Romanus
Incendio consumptum Restituit.

The other temple of three columns, called Jupiter Tonans, has the letters ESTITVER.

This was the name given to them in 1817; but Jupiter Tonans is dethroned now, and authorities are divided between Vespasian and Titus and Saturn.—See Dr. Smith's *Dict.*, art. Roma, p. 182, &c.

* Annali d' Italia, ad an. 312, tom. ii. p. 312. Muratori quotes Zosimus, lib. ii. c. 13, and would make us put this fire to the charge of religion.

† Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. cap. iii. p. 523, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1693. "Hic præfectus [Lampadii] exagitatus est motibus crebris, uno omnium maximo cum collecta plebs infima, domum ejus prope Constantinianum lavacrum injectis facibus incenderat et malleolis," &c.—Ibid.

‡ Vid. Nardini, lib. iv. cap. vi. "Petronius Perpenna magnus Quadratianus V. C. et Inl. Præf. Urb. Constantinianas thermas longa incuria et abolendæ civilis vel potius feralis cladis vastatione vehementer adflictas ita ut agnitione sui ex omni parte perdita desperationem cunctis reparationis adferrent deputato ab amplissimo ordine parvo sumptu quantum publicæ patiebantur angustiæ ab extremo vindicavit occasu et provisione largissima in pristinam faciem splendoremque restituit."

Tiber, which Augustus* cleansed, which Trajan deepened, and Aurelian endeavoured to restrain by a mound,† rose not unfrequently to the walls, and terrified the pious cruelty of the Romans into persecution.‡ The repeated notices of inundation will be seen to form part of the melancholy annals of the declining capital; but the decay of the city was hastened not only by these natural evils and by the violence of hostile conflicts within the walls,§ but by the silent dilapidation of ancient structures, both private and public, which appears to have been a delinquency as early as the beginning of the fourth century, and to have been prohibited afterwards by successive imperial laws. The removal of the emperors to Constantinople encouraged the spoliation, and if it were possible to ascertain the list of all the ornaments of Rome which were transferred to the seat of empire, there might be a better justification for those who attribute the ruin of the old to the rise of the new capital. ‖ The departure of many of the principal

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* Sueton. in Vit. Augusti, cap. xxx.

† "Tiberinas extruxi ripas. Vadum alvei tumentis effodi."—Vopisc. *in Vit. Aureliani*, p. 215, Ald. edit. 1519.

‡ "Tiberis si ascendit ad mœnia; si Nilus non ascendit in arva: si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad Leones."—Tertull. *Apolog.*, cap. xlii.

§ A battle was fought on the Cælian hill in the reign of Aurelian. —*Decline and Fall*, cap. xi. tom. ii. oct., p. 51.

‖ "Ut non immerito dixeris, non a barbaris, sed prius a Constantino eversam fuisse Romam."—Isa. Vossii *de Magnitudine Romæ Veteris.* *ap. Grœv. Antiq. Roman.*, tom. iv. p. 1507, p. 1516, cap. vii.

families for the banks of the Bosporus had emptied a portion of the patrician palaces. The public structures we know were not entirely spared, when it was requisite to record the triumph of Constantine ;* and the debasement of the arts having left the Romans no other resource than the application of former trophies to their present sovereign, the same flattery which robbed an arch of Trajan may have despoiled many other monuments to decorate the chosen city of the conqueror. The laws of the codes† speak of ruins and edifices in decay, which, we may collect from prohibiting clauses, it was the custom not to restore but to pillage for the

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* See notice of Arch of Constantine.

† XI. Impp. Valentinianus et Valens A A ad Symmachum P. U. "Intra urbem Romam eternam nullus Judicum novum opus informet: quotiens serenitatis nostræ arbitria cessabunt: ea tamen instaurandi quæ jam deformibus ruinis intercidisse dicuntur universis licentiam damus."—Dat. viii. kalend. Jun. Philippis. Divo Joviano et Varroniano Coss. (A.D. 364), lib. xv. tit. 1, *Codex Theodos.*, edit. Mant. 1768, p. 261. The law is repeated the next year. The next law mentions the seizure of the granaries. By several other laws of the code under the same title, it appears that the public buildings in the provinces were also falling to decay. The following law speaks more strongly of the decay and the spoliation at Rome:—

XIX. Impp. Valens, Gratianus, et Valentinianus A A A ad Senatum. Nemo præfectorum urbis aliorumve judicum, quos potestas in excelso locat, opus aliquod novum in urbe Roma inclyta moliatur, sed excolendis veteribus intendet animum. Novum quoque opus qui volet in urbe moliri, sua pecunia, suis opibus absolvat, non contractis veteribus emolumentis, non effossis nobilium operum substructionibus, non redivivis de publico saxis, non marmorum frustis spoliatarum ædium reformatione convulsis. Lecta in Senatu. Valente V. et Valentiniano. A A. Coss. (A.D. 376.) Read *deformatione*, according to three editions, p. 269. The laws xxvii. and xxix. of the same title are to the same purpose.

service of new buildings. Such was the disorder in the reign of Valens and Valentinian that private individuals had seized upon the public granaries: columns and marbles were transported from one city to another, and from one service to another. A law above referred to for the year 364, when quoted in the Justinian code, contains a singular expression not before remarked, by which it would appear that at an early period there was an *old* distinct from a *new* Rome.* The regionaries do not notice the distinction, and the commentators object to the phrase; but it seems very probable that the migration from the mounts to the Campus Martius had commenced after the repeated sack and sieges of the city, and the causes of decay before commemorated, had encumbered the ancient site with ruins. The Campus Martius had been surrounded by the wall of Aurelian, and from that time it may be supposed that the vast fields, the groves of the Augustan mausoleum, the innumerable porticoes, the magnificent temples, the circus, and the theatre of that district,† were gradually displaced, or choked up by the descending city. As late as the reign of Valentinian III. we find mention made of the Campus Martius as if it were still an open place.‡ Yet

* Vid. Cod. Justin., lib. viii. tit. xii. tom. ii. p. 471, edit. Gotting. 1797, which repeats the law above, beginning "Intra urbem Romam *veterem et novam*," and inserts "nisi ex suis pecuniis hujusmodi opus construere voluerit."

† See a beautiful description of it in Strabo, lib. v.

‡ He was killed in the Campus Martius, according to Cassiodorus and Victor Tutonensis; but Prosper, in his Chronicle, names another place called the two Laurels.—*Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 455, tom. iii. p. 163.

it is possible that the quarter preserved the name, as at present, long after it had lost its original appearance and destination.

It is not to be overlooked, that in the reign of Constantius, the architectural wonders of the city were still sufficient to astonish a stranger;* that when the regionaries wrote under Valentinian,† a pompous list of public monuments might still be collected for the admiration and confusion of posterity;‡ that when Alaric took the town, the private houses contained the buildings of a whole city;§ and that even after that calamity the old age of Rome was more attractive than the youth of any other capital. There was, doubtless, still enough left to confer the palm upon the ancient metropolis,‖ whose ruins at this day form a striking contrast with the few relics of the second capital. The stranger could not perceive what was lost: the native

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* "Deinde intra septem montium culmina, per acclivitates planitiemque posita urbis membra collustrans et suburbana, quiquid viderat primum, id eminere ante alia cuncta sperabat," &c. &c.—Amm. Marcel., lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145, Lugd. Bat. 1693.

† He was elected emperor in 364, and died in 375.

‡ The two regionaries, Rufus and Victor, occupy twelve pages, in double column, of the folio Thesaurus of Grævius, tom. iii.

§ Ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν μεγάλων οἴκων τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς φήσιν ἅπαντα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὁπόσα πόλις σύμμετρος ἠδύνατο ἔχειν.—*Olympiod. ap. Phot. Biblioth.*, edit. 1653, p. 198.

Εἷς δόμος ἄστυ πέλει, πόλις ἄστεα μυρία κεύθει.

‖ Manuel Chrysoloras made a comparison between Rome and Constantinople: he did not believe what he had heard of Rome, but found that her very ruins were a sufficient proof of her former superiority. This was in 1464,—at least his book has that date.—See *Museum Italic.*, p. 96, tom. i., 1724.

still flattered himself that every injury might be repaired; and such was the stability of the larger monuments, that to the poet and consul Ausonius, at the end of the fourth century, Rome was still the golden, the eternal city.* In the panegyrics, however, of her last admirers, we may trace her decay. The private palaces, which are celebrated by Olympiodorus, have no encomium from the poet who survived the ravage of Genserick, and who still extols the baths of Agrippa, of Nero, and of Diocletian.† The care and admiration of Theodoric were directed to those objects whose solidity or whose position protected them from sudden dissolution, but which were still shaken by violence and age.‡ Cassiodorus confesses that his master, the lover of architecture,§ the restorer of cities, could only repair decently the tottering remnants of antiquity.‖ He owns, also,

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* Epigrammata quatuor, &c. Auson. Op., pp. 78, 80, edit. Burdigal.

"Prima urbes inter Divum domus, aurea Roma."
—*Claræ Urbes*, p. 195.

† "Hinc ad balnea non Neroniana
Nec quæ Agrippa dedit, vel ille cujus
Bustum Dalmaticæ vident Salonæ," &c.

—Sidon. Apoll., *Carmen ad Consentium*, 23, written 466. *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 271.

‡ The Palatine had been occupied by the troops of Genserick, the theatre of Pompey had been injured by fire, and was in decay—quid non solves, O senectus, quæ tam robusta quassasti?—Cassiod. Var., lib. iv. Epist. li.

§ "Amator fabricarum, restaurator civium."—*Excerpta de Theod. auctoris ignoti in fine Amm. Marcel.*

‖ "Et nostris temporibus videatur antiquitas decentius innovata."
—Var. Epist. li. lib. iv.

the partial abandonment, whilst he laments the rapid decay and fall of the ancient habitations.* In the interval between the encomiums of Cassiodorus and the notices which Procopius has left of the miracles of Rome,† the aqueducts had been broken;‡ the thermæ, the amphitheatre, the theatres, had all been abandoned, and the admiration of the historian is confined to the tomb of Hadrian, § to the infinite number of statues, ‖ the works of Phidias, Lysippus, and Myron, and to the solicitude with which the Romans preserved as much as possible the more stable edifices of their city, and amongst other objects, a venerable relic of their Trojan parent.¶ Even these detached ornaments must have been much diminished during the Gothic sieges. The

* "Facilis est ædificiorum ruina incolarum substracta custodia et cito vetustatis decoctione resolvitur, quod hominum præsentia non tuetur."

† De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xix.

‡ The population must have been much diminished, since the Tiber was esteemed insalubrious, and the wells of Rome had been found insufficient for the people of Rome since the year 441 A. U. C. —See Jul. Frontin. *de Aquæduct.*, lib. i. ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman., tom. iv.

§ De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xxii.

‖ Ibid., lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

¶ *Οἵ γε καὶ πολύν τινα βεβαρβαρωμένοι αἰῶνα, τάς τε πόλεως διεσώσαντο οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τῶν ἐγκαλλωπισμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα ὅσα οἷόν τε ἦν· χρόνῳ τὲ τοσούτῳ τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τῷ ἀπημελεῖσθαι, δι' ἀρετὴν τῶν πεποιημένων ἀντέχει· ἔτι μέν τοι καὶ ὅσα μνημεῖα τοῦ γένους ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι· ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἡ ναὺς Αἰνείου, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τόδε κεῖται, θέαμα παντελῶς ἄπιστον.* Γοτθικων ἡ δ'. p. 353, edit. 1607, cap. xxii. of the translation. The due weight must be given to these words; but the solidity of the structure seems, after all, the chief protection of the buildings.

Greek soldiers were not restrained from flinging down the statues of the mole of Hadrian on the heads of their assailants;* and Belisarius must have demolished not only such smaller materials, but many a contiguous structure, for his repeated rebuilding of the walls. We have other decided proofs of the early desertion and decline of the Cæsarian city. An edict of Majorian specifies as a common offence, that those who built houses had recourse to the ancient habitations, which could not have been dilapidated in the presence of a resident population, and which we know by the same edict to have been abandoned to the feeble protection of the laws.† The same fact is deducible from another prohibition, which forbade the extraction of precious metals from the ancient structures, a crime noticed before the end of the fourth century,‡ and one of the evils which the regulations of Theodoric were intended to prevent.§ This rapine supposes a solitude. In the

* De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xxii. The Faun was found when Urban VIII. cleansed the ditch of the castle.

† Majorian reigned from 457 to 461. "Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio; et ut aliquid reparatur, magna diruuntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur ut etiam unusquisque privatum ædificium construens, per gratiam judicum .... præsumere de publicis locis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet." This is quoted in the Decline and Fall, &c., cap. xxxvi. p. 175, vol. vi. oct. note 3.

‡ In 367 Lampadius, the præfect, took all the lead, and iron, and brass, so collected, without any remuneration to the plunderers.—Amm. Marcellini, lib. xxvii. cap. iii. p. 524, edit. 1693.

§ Præterea non minimum pondus, et quod facillimum direptioni est mollissimum plumbum de ornatu mœnium referuntur esse sublata.—*Variar. Epist.*, lib. iii. cap. xxxi. p. 50, edit. 1679.

subsequent periods of distress, when every precious object had been removed from above ground, the plunderers searched for subterranean treasures, and tore up the lead of the conduits.* The mere necessities of existence became the only care of a wretched population, from whom it would be unreasonable to expect either taste or attachment to the trophies of their former grandeur. That many of the works of sculpture fell where they stood, has been proved by the spots where they were found, after centuries of neglect. The same indifference which allowed the baths of Titus to be gradually buried beneath the soil, prevented the Laocoon from being removed from the niche which it originally adorned.† The Toro, the Hercules, the Flora, the Callipygian Venus, were all found in the baths of Caracalla, of which most probably they had been the ornaments.

The condition of the Romans may account for their neglect of monuments, which the elements themselves conspired to destroy. An earthquake shook the Forum of Peace for seven days in the year 408;‡ but such

* "Et confestim centenarium illud, quod ex eadem forma in atrio ecclesiæ Beati Petri decurrebat, dum per nimiam neglectus incuriam plumbum ipsius centenarii furtim jam plurima ex parte exinde ablatum fuisset."—Anastas. *in Vit. S. Hadriani I.* He is talking of the repair of the aqueduct and pipe of the Acqua Sabbatina.

† Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi.) says, the Laocoon was in the house of the Emperor Titus. ". . . . Laocoonte qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo." They show the red cellular niche in the baths or palace of Titus, in which this group is said to have been found.

‡ "Romæ in foro pacis per dies septem terra mugitum dedit."—Mercellini Comitis, *Chronic. ap. Sirmond.*, tom. ii p. 274. It may

were the convulsions of nature in the succeeding century that Gregory the Great* naturally supposed the evils of which he had himself been witness to be the principal cause of the ruin around him. To these earthquakes, tempests, and inundations, he attributed not only the depopulation of the city but the fall of her dwellings, *the crumbling of her bones.*† The rise of the Tiber is specified as having overthrown many of the ancient edifices.‡ Pestilence and famine within the walls, and the Lombards without, had reduced her to a wilderness, and it is to be believed that the population shrunk at that period from many spots never afterwards inhabited. An important notice, hitherto never

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be too strong an interpretation to call this *bellowing* an earthquake.

* St. Gregory, in his Dialogues, lib. ii. cap. xv., reports and confirms a prophecy of St. Benedict:—"Cui vir Dei respondit: *Roma gentibus non exterminabitur, sed tempestatibus coruscis, turbinibus, ac terræ motu fatigata marcescet in semet ipsa.* Cujus prophetiæ mysteria nobis jam facta sunt luce clariora, qui in hac urbe dissoluta mœnia, eversas domos, destructas ecclesias turbine cernimus; ejusque ædificia longo senio lassata quia ruinis crebrescentibus prosternantur videmus." The reader may recollect how Gibbon has disposed of the prophecy.

† "Quid autem ista de hominibus dicimus cum ruinis crebrescentibus ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus . . . . quia postquam defecerant homines, etiam parietes cadunt . . . . ossa ergo excocta sunt, vacua ardet Roma."—18 Homil. in Ezechiel., lib. ii. hom. vi. p. 70; tom. v. opp. omn. Venet. 1776. This was in 592.

‡ "Tanta inundatione Tiberis fluvius alveum suum egressus est tantumque excrevit, ut ejus unda per muros urbis influere atque in ea maximam partim regionis occupavit ita ut plurima antiquarum ædium mœnia dejiceret."—St. Gregor., *Vita per Paul. Diacon.*, tom. xv. p. 253, opp. S. Greg. See also *Paul. Diacon. de gestis Langob.*, lib. iii. cap. xxiii., for the *pestis inguinaria.*

cited for the same purpose, informs us that, at the second siege of Rome by Totila, there was so much cultivated land within the walls that Diogenes, the governor, thought the corn he had sown would be sufficient to supply the garrison and citizens in a protracted defence.* The district of the Forum, however, had not yet become a solitude. A column, erected to the emperor Phocas, is an evidence that the ancient ground-plan had not been buried in the year 608; and the same may be said of the Forum of Trajan, upon evidence not quite so precise.† The accretion of soil in the valleys, and even the mounts of Rome, could not have taken place under the foot of a population which was never entirely lost, and it is only from the total desertion of these buried sites that we must date the formation of the present level.‡

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* Procop. de Bello Gothico, lib. iii. cap. xxxvi. Nardini, lib. i. cap. viii., has made the remark, but with another object, in treating of the walls.

† The biographers of St. Gregory mention the Forum. "Idem vero perfectissimus et acceptabilis Deo sacerdos, cum quadam die per forum Trajani, quod opere magnifico constat esse extructum procederat."—Paul. Diacon., in loc. cit., p. 262. "Quod Gregorius per forum Trajani, quod ipse quondam pulcherrimis ædificiis venustabat," &c.—Joan. Diacon., in loc. cit., p. 305. Paul Warnefrid was a Lombard of Forli, and taken prisoner by Charlemagne; the other deacon wrote in 872. Vid. de Triplici S. Gregorii magni Vita, in loc. cit., p. 246.

‡ Gibbon, cap. lxxi. p. 405, tom. xii., singularly gives Addison the merit of a discovery, which any one who had seen a picture of the half-buried ruins under the Capitol, and the hole in which the column of Trajan was sunk, might, and must, have anticipated. Yet the soil had been raised considerably, as before remarked, at the Porta St. Lorenzo, in the time of Honorius.

It appears that, in 825, there were within Rome itself cultivated lands of considerable extent.* The contiguity of the immense ancient fabrics, when once in decay, must have been dangerous during earthquakes, which might shake them down; or in inundations, when the waters might be confined and prevented from retiring by the walls of buildings *as large as provinces.*† Such open spots as were decorated by single monuments were likely to be first overwhelmed by the deposit left by the water and collected round those monuments. On this account the Forums, and even the Palatine, although an eminence, being crowded with structures, appear to have been buried deeper than the other quarters under the deposit of the river and the materials of the crumbling edifices. The latter accumulation must be taken into the account when it is recollected that the broken pottery of the old city

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* The monastery of Farfa in 825 obtained from the Emperor Lothaire I. the confirmation of a grant of Pope Eugenius of two farms. "De duabus massis juris monasterii Sanctæ Bibianæ, quod est positum infra nobilissimam urbem Romanam, vel quæ ad easdem massas pertinere dignoscitur, quarum una Pompejana, et alia Balagai nuncupata."—*Chronicon Farfense, ap. Script. Rer. Italic.*, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 383, edit. 1727. We know S. Bibiana to have been in Rome. Muratori says, "Dalla Chronica Farfensa apprendiamo, avere Papa Eugenio donate al monastero di Farfa due masse, appellate l' una Pompeiana, e l' altra Balagai, poste *infra nobilissimam Urbem Romanam:* il che ci fa conoscere, che entro Roma stessa si trovavano de' Buoni Poderi coltivabili."—*Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 825, tom. iv. p. 533. Perhaps his translation and conclusion are rather licentious.

† "Lavacra in modum provinciarum structa" astonished Constantius.—Amm. Marcell., lib. xvi. cap. x.

has, at some unknown period,* been sufficient to form a mount 150 paces high and 500 paces in length. The population was too languid to dig away the obstructions, and employed their remaining strength in transporting the smaller materials to the more modern and secure quarter of the town.

It is impossible to assign a precise date to the total desertion of the greater portion of the ancient site; but the calamities of the seventh and eighth centuries must have contributed to, if they did not complete, the change. A scarcity† in the year 604, a violent earthquake‡ a few years afterwards, a pestilence§ in or about the year 678, five tremendous inundations of

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* De eo perpetuum apud antiquos silentium.—Donati *Rom. Vet.*, lib. iii. cap. xiii. The most reasonable account of the Testacean Mount seems to be that of Lucius Faunus, lib. iii. cap. iii. de Antiquit. Urbis Romæ, ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 248. There was a college of potters established by Numa. The vicinity of the water made them fix themselves in the meadow on the banks of the Tiber. It was strictly forbidden to fling any obstructions into the river. The mound rose by degrees, and therefore unnoticed. It is strange, however, that the regionaries should not mention it.

† "Eoque tempore fuit fames in civitate Romana grandis."—Anastas., *in Vit. Sabiniani*, p. 134.

‡ "Eodem tempore factus est terræ motus magnus mense Augusti indictione undecima."—Ibid., *in Vit. S. Deusdedit.* He was pope from 614 to 617.

§ "Similiter mortalitas major, atque gravissima subsecuta est mense suprascripto, Julio, Augusto, et Septemb. in urbe Roma, qualis nec temporibus aliorum Pontificum esse memoratur."—Ibid., *in Vit. S. Agathon.*, p. 142. Paul. Diaconus says, "Tantaque fuit multitudo morientium ut etiam parentes cum filiis, atque fratres cum sororibus apud urbem Romam ad sepulchra deducerentur."—*De Gestis Langob.*, lib. vi. cap. v.

the Tiber* from 680 to 797, a second famine in the pontificate of Pope Constantine,† which continued for six-and-thirty months, a pestilence in the last year of the seventh century, and the assault of the Lombards for three months under Astolphus in 755,—these are the events which compose the Roman history of this unhappy period.

The fabrics of the old town could receive no protection but from their solidity. The lawful sovereigns

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* In 685, 715, 717, 791, 797. Of that in 717 it is mentioned, "Per dies autem septem aqua Romam tenebat perversam."—Anastas., *in Vit. S. Gregor.*, ii. p. 155. Paul. Diaconus tells, "His diebus Tiberis fluvius ita inundavit, ut alveum suum egressus multa Romanæ fecerit exitia civitati; ita ut in via Lata ad unam et semis staturam excresceret, atque a porta S. Petri usque ad Pontem Milvium acquæ se distendentes conjungerent."—*De Gestis Langob.*, lib. vi. cap. xxxvi. From the mention made of the *Corso* being damaged, the descent of the city into the Campus Martius seems to be proved. At the same time the English inundated Rome.—Ibid., cap. xxxvii.

The inundation of 791 tore down the Flaminian gate, and carried it as far as the arch called Tres Facicellæ (the Arcus Portogalli), and rose to the height of two men. "Per triduum ipsum flumen, quasi per alveum, per civitatem currebat."—Anastas., *in Vit. S. Hadriani*, p. 194. The river kept the city under water for many days, and S. Hadrian was obliged to send provisions in boats to those living in the Via Lata, "per naviculas morantibus Via Lata cibos advexit."

The inundation in 797 is not in Anastasius, where Fea (*Dissertazione*, p. 309) finds it, but is in the Index Vetustissimus Ducum Spoletonatorum et Abbatum Farfensium.—*Ap. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 295. "DCCXCVII. Inundatio aquæ fit Romæ in Via Lata ad duas staturas." It may be suspected that, as both rose to the height of two men, there is some confusion, and that they were the same.

† Constantine was elected in 708. "Vir valde mitissimus, cujus temporibus in urbe Roma fames facta est magna per annos tres."—Anastas., *in Vit. Constant.*, p. 152. There seems a full stop wanting after *mitissimus*: his misfortunes follow his virtues too quickly.

had degraded the capital of the world to the head of a duchy, and the only visit which an emperor of the east deigned to make to Rome was not to protect but to despoil her of all her valuable ornaments.* The recorded plunder of Constans has affixed to that recreant name a greater share in the ruin of Rome than the concurrence of other calamities will allow: his robbery was confined to the bronze tiles of the Pantheon, and to whatsoever quantity of the precious metals could be collected in a residence of twelve days.† He had the gleanings of Genserick, but he still left the bronze of the portico to be plundered by Urban VIII., and many other metallic decorations, to be melted into bells for the churches in the subsequent rise of the modern town, and for other pious uses of the Popes.‡

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* "Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornamentum civitatis deposuit, sed et ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ ad martyres, quæ de tegulis æreis erat cooperta, discoperuit."—Anastas., *in Vit. St. Vitaliani*, tom. i. p. 106.

† "Sed manens Romæ dies duodecim omnia quæ fuerint antiquitus instituta ex ære in ornamentum urbis abstulit: in tantum ut etiam basilicam Beatæ Mariæ quæ antea Pantheon vocata fuerat (vocabatur) . . . . discooperiret."—Paul. Diaconi *De Gestis Langobard.* lib. v. cap. xi. Fabricius says that Constans took away more in seven days than all the barbarians had done in 258 years.—*Descriptio Romæ*, cap. ii.

‡ The Abate Fea (*Dissertazione*, p. 407 et seq.) allows that whatever was saved was saved *by miracle*, and probably because buried under some heavy ruin, as the gilded Hercules, the Wolf, the Belvedere Pine. The bronze doors of Cosmas and Damianus were saved because they belonged to a church; those of St. Hadrian were carried away to the Lateran. There was a statue of bronze, a bull, in the Forum Boarium in the time of Blondus. "A foro Boario ubi æreum taurum aspicimus."—*Romæ Inst.*, lib. i. fo. 10.

The period of the exarchate and of the Lombard domination is that of the lowest distress of Rome.* The most diligent inquiry has been unable to discover who were her acknowledged masters, or what was the form of her domestic government.† Subsequently to the extinction of the exarchate by Astolphus in 752 she had been abandoned, but was never formally resigned by the Greek Cæsars. After Gregory II. in 728 or 729, and Gregory III. in 741, had solicited the aid of Charles Martel against the Lombards,‡ and against the iconoclast tyrants of Constantinople, it might be thought that the supremacy of the Greek empire had ceased to be recognised. Yet a certain respect, at least, for the successors of Constantine, not only from

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* "Ipsa urbium regina Roma, quamdiu Langobardorum Regnum viguit, summis calamitatibus exagitata, atque in pejus ruens ex antiquo splendore decidebat."—*Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 148, Dissertatio 21.

† Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 304.

‡ Ibid., p. 281, 286.

Gibbon has observed that "the Greek writers are apt to confound the times and actions of Gregory II. and III." (cap. xlix. p. 132, note 20, vol. ix. octavo), and by some accident the following extraordinary error has been left in his text. "In his distress the first Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age—of Charles Martel" (cap. xlix. p. 147, vol. ix. octavo). The first Gregory had been dead more than a century. The historian could hardly mean the first of the 2nd and 3rd, which would be too equivocal an expression; besides which, there was but a letter written, and there are some doubts as to the embassy of Gregory II. to Charles Martel; and the decided, perhaps repeated, supplication to him was from Gregory III. (See Muratori, tom. iv. p. 286, ad an. 741.) Nor does the mistake look like an error of the press, to be read, "Gregory had first implored," &c., since the application to Pepin was made by Stephen II.

the Romans but from their new patricians, Pepin and Charles of France, may be shown to have endured within two years of the coronation of the latter hero,* in the year 800. It is certain, however, that about this period the Romans had recurred to the memory of their former institutions, and had composed a corporation of uncertain form and number, advised rather than commanded by the Pope, who had silently usurped the sovereign title of *our Lord*. By this senate or this spiritual master had the *Byzantine* title of Consul or Patrician been offered to Charles Martel and conferred on Pepin. A letter is still preserved from the *Senate and People* to Pepin, Patrician of the Romans,† and the reply of the Frank monarch, recommending a deference to their bishop, Paul I., must imply that the domestic sovereignty was divided between the pastor and the community at large. This mixed government, which must have sometimes assumed the appearance of anarchy, and at others degenerated into despotism, was contemplated with horror by those who recalled

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* "Viene a fortificarsi la conghiettura proposta di sopra, cioè che durava tuttavia in Roma il rispetto all' Imperador Greco, ed era quivi riconosciuta la sua autorità."—*Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 798, tom. iv. p. 492. Gregory III. is usually called the first of the independent popes, but he certainly acknowledged the superiority of Eutychius, exarch of Ravenna, to whom, as Anastasius tells us, he applied for permission to use six columns of some structure for St. Peter's church.

† The thirty-sixth letter of the Codex Carolinus, "scritta da tutto il senato e dalla generalità del Popolo Romano al re Pippino Patrizio de' Romani."—See *Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 763, tom. iv. p. 331.

the lawful imperial sway of the Cæsars,* and either to the people or the popes was applied the opprobrious regret that Rome was subject *to the slaves of slaves* and to a barbarous populace drawn together from all the corners of the earth. The twelfth line of the following verses is the same read backwards as forwards, and is quoted from Sidonius Apollinaris to denote the retrograde fortune of Rome: "e dovette," says Muratori, "una volta parere qualche meravigliosa cosa:"—

"Nobilibus fueras quondam constructa patronis
Subdita nunc servis. Heu male Roma ruis
Deseruere tui tanto te tempore reges:
Cessit et ad Græcos nomen honosque tuum
In te nobilium rectorum nemo remansit,
Ingenuique tui rura Pelasga colunt.
Vulgus ab extremis distractum partibus orbis,
Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini.
Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur,
Mœnibus et muris Roma vetusta cadis.
Hoc cantans prisco prædixit carmine vates,
Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.
Non si te Petri meritum Paulique foveret,
Tempore jam longo Roma misella fores.
Mancipibus subjecta jacens macularis iniquis,
Inclyta quæ fueras nobilitate nitens." †

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* St. Gregory himself made the distinction between the republican subjects of an *emperor* and the slaves of a *king*. "Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicæ Imperatores distat, quod reges gentium, domini servorum sunt, Imperatores vero Reipublicæ domini liberorum."—Lib. xiii. Epist. xxxi.

† See Antiq. Med. Ævi, edit. 1739, tom. ii. p. 148, 149, Dissertat. xxi. Muratori warns us not to think that the *servorum servi* alludes to the popes. The title may not yet have been used, but to whom do the words allude? The phrase is singular, and has been applied to only one character of antiquity, to Sextus Pompey: "Libertorum suorum libertus, *servorumque servus*."—Vell. Pater-

A boasted descendant of Camillus was still left at the beginning of the fifth century;* but the unknown author of the above complaint would lead us to believe that the last relics of the Roman race had in his time disappeared.

When the history of the pontiffs becomes all the history of Rome, we find each moment of peace and prosperity employed in rebuilding the walls, in burning lime, in constructing churches and shrines of martyrs, the materials of which must, it is evident, have been supplied from the deserted ruins. The repair of former damages, and the increasing population after the establishment of the Carlovingian princes, augmented the application to the same common quarry. The reconstruction of an aqueduct to convey the *acqua Vergine* to the Vatican by Hadrian I., at the end of the eighth century, seems to prove that the Campus Martius and the quarter about St. Peter's were then chiefly inhabited.† The altar of the apostles had gathered round it a crowd of votaries who became settlers, and for whose protection Leo IV.‡ surrounded with a

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cul., *Hist.*, lib. ii. cap. lxxiii. The slave of slaves had become the king of kings, when a dedicator to Sixtus Quintus told him

"Ingentes si facta decent ingentia reges
Te regum regem, Sixte, quis esse neget."

—Da Barga, *Comm. de Obelisco, ap. Grœv.*, tom. iv. p. 1931.

* St. Jerome had a female correspondent who was a descendant of Camillus; and St. Gregory was of the patrician family of the Gordians.—See Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. Camillus.

† Anastas. in Vit. Had., p. 189.

‡ He was pope from 847 to 855.

wall the suburb of the Vatican. Respect for the mother of the churches, and the supposed scene of the baptism of Constantine, had preserved the inhabitants in the other extremity near the Lateran,* and the greater was the population at these opposite points the more complete must have been the desertion of many intermediate quarters within the vast circuit of the walls. It has been already observed that some of these spots had become cultivated lands in the beginning of the ninth century.

The edifices of old Rome are lost for more than two hundred years, but reappear in a regionary of the eighth or ninth century, who might make us suspect that the abandonment had not yet reached the Forum. His notice includes the following monuments, which he divides amongst the regions after the example of former itineraries:† the Thermæ of Alexander, of Commodus, of Trajan, of Sallust, with his *pyramid*, of Diocletian, of Constantine, and some baths near St. Silvestro *in capite*, a temple of Minerva, the temple

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* Another aqueduct, the Claudian, was repaired for the service of the Lateran. The Marcian water was also again brought to Rome by Hadrian I. It seems that these streams and the Acqua Trajana had been before partially recovered, it is uncertain by whom, and had again fallen into decay.

† See Bianchini's edition of the Lives of the Popes. Opusculum XV. prolegomena ad Vitas Roman. Pontificum, tom. ii. p. cxxii. Bianchini calls him a regionary of the eighth or ninth century. The date 875 has been assigned to him.—See *Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, &c., p. 326.

of Jupiter,* the Roman Forum, the Forum of Trajan, the three Circuses, Maximus, Flaminius, and Agonalis, the Arch of Drusus called *recordationis*, the Arch of Severus, that of Titus and Vespasian, and of Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian, the Flavian Amphitheatre, that called Castrense, the Capitol, the Septizonium of Severus, a palace of Nero, another attributed to Pontius Pilate, and a third near Santa Croce *in Gerusalemme*, the Theatres of Pompey and of Marcellus, the Pantheon, the Mica Aurea, the Antonine and Trajan Columns, a Nymphæum, an obelisk near S. Lorenzo *in Lucina*, the Horses of the Baths of Constantine, the Horse of Constantine, the elephant called Herbarium, a statue of the Tiber, several aqueducts, and nameless porticoes. It is worth while to observe how many of these monuments have been partially preserved up to this day, so that one might suspect that those of a slighter construction had already yielded to violence and time, and those only had remained which were to be the wonder, perhaps, of many *thousand* years. It is impossible to determine in what state were these monuments, although they might be supposed entire from the epithet *broken* being applied to the aqueducts.† At the same time we know that the Theatre of Pompey had been in decay three hundred years before, and

* Bianchini calls this the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter without giving any reason.

† The aqueducts are called *Formæ*, a name which Cassiodorus gives them. *Variar.*, lib. vii., Form vi. tom. i. p. 13.

that the Thermæ had been altogether disused for the same period, and must therefore have been in ruins.* The Baths of Sallust were, it may be thought, partially destroyed when the fire of Alaric was fatal to his palace. It is probable that many of the above objects served merely as land-marks amongst the many churches which form the chief *memorabilia* of this ecclesiastical pilgrim, who adorns the twelfth region with the head of St. John the Baptist. In the same manner the Forum of Trajan is noted by two authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although it must have been in ruins previous to either of those dates.†

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* We find mention of baths in the lives of the popes, as in that of St. Hadrian, "In balneis Lateranensibus;" but the Thermæ had never been frequented since the siege of Vitiges. The total change of manners in modern Rome has left it without a single bath open to the public; nor is this a usual commodity in private houses.

† Benedicti Beati Petri Canonici, liber Pollicitus, ad Guidonem de Castello, written, says Mabillon, ante annum MC.XLIII. quo Guido iste ad pontificatus assumptus est, dictus Celestinus II. See Ordo Romanus XI. ap. Mabill. Museum Italicum, tom. ii. p. 118, edit. Paris, 1724.

See Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ ap. Montfaucon. Diarium Italicum, cap. xx. p. 283 to p. 301, edit. Paris, 1702.

In the year 1162 there was a church with gardens and houses, called St. Niccolo alla Colonna Trajana. (*Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, p. 355.) Flavius Blondus, without mentioning his authority, says that Symmachus I. built two churches there. Symmachus was Pope in 500, "In ejus fori excelsis mirabilibusque ruinis Symmachus primus Papa ecclesias S. Basilii et item S. Silvestri et Martini extruxit."—Rom. instaurata, lib. ii. fo. 38, edit. Taurin. 1527.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF CAUSES OF DILAPIDATION.

THE rising importance of the new city accelerated the ruin of the old. From the time that Rome again became worth a contest, we find her citizens in arms, sometimes against each other, sometimes against the pretenders to the imperial crown. The spirit of feudalism had distracted her inhabitants. Adalbert and Lambert, the Dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, were invited to inflame the civil furies,* and in the beginning of the tenth century, Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, had obtained the dominion of Rome, and the hand of the famous Marozia.† The expulsion of Hugo, king of Burgundy and Italy, the last of the three husbands of that "most noble patrician," by Alberic the son of the first, and the repeated assaults of the city by the expelled tyrant, are not to be forgotten amongst the causes of dilapidation.‡ The assumption of the im-

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* A.D. 878, according to the Annali d'Italia.

† A.D. 910 to 925.

‡ Muratori calls Marozia "Nobilissima Patricia Romana," and appears to disbelieve a part of the "laidezze e maldicenze" charged to her by Luitprand, the repository of all the pasquinades and de-

perial crown by the first Otho, in 962, and the revolts of the Roman captains, or patricians, with that of Crescentius, against Otho the Second and Third,* had renewed the wars in the heart of the city, and it is probable had converted many of the larger structures into ruins or strongholds.

The next appearance of the monuments is when they had become the fortresses of the new nobility, settled at Rome since the restoration of the empire of the west.†

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famatory libels of the times.—*Annali d'Italia*, ad an. 911, tom. v., p. 267. Marozia had one lover a Pope, Sergius III.; and her son by him, or more probably by her first husband, Alberic, was John XI., Pope from 931 to 935. Guido, her second husband, Duke or Marquis of Tuscany, was master of Rome from 925 to 929; and Hugo, her third husband, from 929 to 932. Alberic, her son, *reigned* as patrician and consul from 932 to 954; beat away Hugo from Rome in 932, in 936, and perhaps 941, and although he had married the king's daughter, contributed to his expulsion from Italy in 946. His son Octavian reigned as patrician, or as Pope John XII., until 962.

* Romani capitanei patriciatus sibi tyrannidem vindicavêre.—See Romuald Salern. Chronic. Muratori. annali, tom. v., p. 480, ad an. 987. The Romans revolted in 974, 987, 995, 996. Crescentius stood a siege against Otho III., and was beheaded in 998; and another revolt took place in 1001, at the coronation of Conrad II. In 1027, the Germans and Romans again fought in the city.

† The Frangipani, the Orsini, the Colonni, were certainly foreign, and perhaps German families, although they all pretended a Roman descent. The first when reduced, in the beginning of the seventh century, to Mario, a poor knight, Signor of Nemi, published *their tree* to identify their family with that of Gregory the Great, "del quale si prova il principio e il fine mà vi è una largura di 200 anni in mezzo."—See *Relation di Roma del Aimaden*, p. 139, edit. 1672, which may be consulted for some short but singular notices respecting the Roman families.

Some of these monuments were perhaps entire, but it is evident that some of them were in ruins when they first served for dwellings or forts: such must have been the case with the theatres of Marcellus and of Pompey. How they came into the hands of their occupiers, whether by grant of the Popes, or by seizure, or by vacancy, is unknown; one instance has reached us in which Stephen, son of Hildebrand, consul of Rome in 975, gave to the monks of St. Gregory on the Cælian mount, an ancient edifice called the *Septem solia minor*, near the Septizonium of Severus, not to keep, but *to pull down.** The character of those to whom the present was made, and the purpose for which it was granted, will account for the ruin of the ancient fabrics in that period. The monks were afterwards joint owners of the Coliseum,† and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were put in the possession of religious communities, who abandoned them to total neglect.‡ Whatever were the means by which they

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* Mittarelli, Annali Camaldolesi, tom. i. Append. num. xliz Coll. 96. "Donatio templi de Septem soliis minoris facta a Stephano filio quondam Ildebrandi consulis et ducis eidem Johanni abbati. Id est illud meum templum, quod septem solia minor dicitur, ut ab hac die vestræ sit potestati et voluntati pro tuitione turris vestræ quæ septem solia major dicitur ad destruendum et sumptus deprimendum quantum vobis placuerit."—p. 96, edit. 1755.

† See notice of the Coliseum.

‡ The Aurelian column was made over to St. Silvestro *in capite*, and a singular inscription is to this day seen under the porch of that church, in which those who should *alienate* the column, and the offerings, are excommunicated by the authority of the bishops and

obtained possession, the Orsini, in the XIth and XIIth centuries, had occupied the mole of Hadrian, and the theatre of Pompey; the Colonna, the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the baths of Constantine. The Conti were in the Quirinal. The Frangipani had the Coliseum and the Septizonium of Severus, and the Janus of the Forum Boarium,* and a corner of the Palatine. The Savelli were at the Tomb of Metella. The Corsi had fortified the Capitol. If the churches were not spared, it is certain the pagan monuments would be protected by no imagined sanctity, and we find that the Corsi family had occupied the Basilica of St. Paul,† without the walls, and that the Pantheon was a fortress defended for the Pope.‡

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cardinals, and "multorum clericorum, atque *laicorum* qui interfuerunt."

I saw it on the spot in 1817. A copy of it is given in Dissertazione, &c., p. 349. The date is 1119. There was a keeper of the column in 193, shortly after it was built. The column of Trajan was in the *care* of St. Niccolò, and the new senate and people, in 1162, ordered that it should not be wantonly injured under pain of death and confiscation. See Dissertazione, pp. 355, 356. Yet the Antonine column threatened to fall when repaired by Sixtus Quintus. See De Columna Triumphali Commentarius, Josephi Castalionis ad Sixtum V. ap. Græv. tom. iv. p. 1947. "Erat valde confracta et multis in locis non rimas modo verum et fenestras amplissimas, vel portas discussis marmoribus duxerat;" and the base of the column of Trajan was under ground until the time of Paul III.

* This was called Turris Cencii Frangipani, and the remains of a fort are still left upon the summit.

† Annali d' Italia, ad an. 1105, p. 344, tom. vi.

‡ See notice of the Pantheon.

When, in the eleventh century,* the quarrels between the Church and the Empire had embroiled the whole of Italy, Rome was necessarily the chosen scene of combat. Within her walls there was space to fight, and there were fortresses to defend. We read accordingly, in the annals of those times, of armies encamped on the Aventine, and moving from the Tomb of Hadrian to the Lateran, or turning aside to the Coliseum or the Capitol, as if through a desert, to the attack of the strong posts occupied by the respective partizans of the Pope or the Empire. Gregory VII. may have the merit of having founded that power to which modern Rome owes all her importance, but it is equally certain, that to the same pontiff must be ascribed the final extinction of the city of the Cæsars; a destruction which would have been classed with the havoc of religious zeal, did it not belong more properly to ambition.† The Emperor Henry IV., the troops of the Pope's nephew, Rusticus, and the Normans of Robert Guiscard, were more injurious to the remains of Rome, from 1082 to 1084, than all the preceding Barbarians of every age. The first burnt a great part of the Leonine city, and

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* It is the opinion of Mr. Nibby (Mura di Roma, p. 125) that the great changes in the topography of Rome did not take place till the eleventh century; up to that period the streets had the ancient directions. The gates were the same as in the old times, and the houses were built upon the edifices of the imperial city.

† Annali d' Italia, ad an. 1082, 1083, 1084, tom. vi. p. 273 to 282.

ruined the portico of St. Peter: he destroyed also the long portico from the Ostian gate to the church of St. Paul. In his last irruption he levelled a part of the Septizonium to dislodge Rusticus, razed the fortresses of the Corsi on the Capitol,* and battered the mole of Hadrian. The Normans† and Saracens of Guiscard's

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* "Domos Corsorum subvertit, dehinc septem solia, quibus Rusticus nepos prædicti Pontificis continebatur, obsidere cum multis machinis bellicis attentavit, de quibus quamplurimas columnas subvertit."—Baronii *Annales Ecclesiast. ad an.* 1084, tom. xvii. p. 551. Lucæ, 1740.

† "Robertus autem dux Romam cum exercitu noctu ingressus, dum ad ecclesiam Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum advenisset, ex consilio Cincii Romanorum Consulis ignem urbi injecit: Romani igitur rei novitate perculsi, dum extinguendo igni toti incumberent, Dux ad arcem St. Angeli continuo properans." . . . . Leo Ostiensis (a contemporary) ap. Baron., p. 553, in loc. cit.

Bertholdus has these stronger words: "Robertus Guiscardus, Dux Northmannorum in servitium Sancti Petri post kal. Maii Romam armata manu invasit, fugatoque Henrico totam urbem Gregorio Papæ rebellem penitus expoliavit, et magnam ejus partem igni consumpsit, eo quod Romani quendam ejus militem vulneraverunt."—Ap. Baron. loc. citat. p. 552. A poet, Hugo Flaviniacensis, says only, "Quibusdam ædibus incensis." Another author, "Immo ipse cum suis totam regionem illam, in qua Ecclesia Sancti Silvestri, et Sancti Laurentii in Lucina sitæ sunt, penitus destruxit, et fere ad nihil redegit ——— Regiones illas circa Lateranum, et Colisæum positas igne comburere."—Cardin. de Aragonia et alior. Vitæ Pontif. Rom. ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 313. And other writers, "Per diversa loca civitatis miscere jubet incendia . . . . . Ipsis ergo superatis, et civitate in magna sui parte collisa."—Anonymi Vaticani. Historia Sicula. ap. *Scriptor. Rer. Ital.*, tom. viii. p. 773. It is not known when he lived.

"Dux itaque Romam ingressus cepit maximam partem urbis, hostiliter incendens et vastans a Palatio Laterani usque Castellum S. Angeli, ubi Papa Gregorius oppugnabatur."—Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon, ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. vii. p. 175. He was

army, with the papal faction, burnt the town from the Flaminian gate to the Antonine column, and laid waste the sides of the Esquiline to the Lateran; thence he set fire to the region from that church to the Coliseum and the Capitol, or, according to some authorities, to the Tiber. He attacked the Coliseum for several days, and finished the ruin of the Capitol. It is reasonable to believe that the flames were arrested by the wilderness which had before existed to the south of these positions, and, indeed, in other quarters. Besides the former notice of farms in Rome, we find that there were *lands cultivated and uncultivated* in the ninth region of the city, about the Thermæ of Alexander, so early as the year 998.*

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archbishop of Salerno from 1153 or 1154 to 1181. "Il che forse non merita molta credenza:" so Muratori thinks, *Annali ad an.* 1084.

"Urbs maxima ex parte incendio, vento admixto accrescente, consumitur."—Gauferdi Malaterræ, *ibid.*, tom. v. p. 588. *Hist. Sicula.*

Landulfus Senior, the Milanese historian, whom the writers all attack, because he declared against the mad ambition and celibacy of Gregory VII., and for the introduction of whom in his collection Muratori thought himself obliged to make an apology, has these strong expressions on Guiscard's fire: "Quid multa? tribus civitatis partibus, multisque palatiis Regum Romanorum adustis, Gregorius demum filiis male crismatis filiabusque pejus consecratis, cui jam spes ulla vivendi in civitate non erat, ab urbe exiliens cum Roberto Salernum profectus est. Ubi per pauca vivens tempora tamquam malorum pœnam emeritus est."—*Hist. Mediol.*, lib. iv. cap. iii. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iv. p. 120. Landulphus was a contemporary writer.

* There were three churches also in these precincts rising amongst *crypts* and fragments of columns—a sign to whom the destruction should be referred.—See *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 357.

The conflagration of Guiscard created or confirmed a solitude much more extensive than is embraced by that "spacious quarter between the Lateran and the Coliseum," to which it is confined by our own historian. From that period at least must be dated the desolation of a great part of the Esquiline, and all the Viminal, and much of the Cœlian hill, including the irretrievable ruin perhaps of the Coliseum, and certainly of many of the remaining structures of the Forums and the Sacred Way.* A contemporary writer † says, that all the regions of the city were ruined; and another spectator, who was in Rome ‡ twelve years afterwards, laments, that

* There was a proverb, even in this day, which speaks the beauty of the Roman edifices: "Unde in proverbium dictum est: Mediolanum in clericis, Papia in deliciis, Roma in ædificiis, Ravenna in ecclesiis."—Landulfi, *Sen.*, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 96.

Flavius Blondus quotes the epistles of Gregory VII., and his biographer Pandulphus, above cited, for the battles of the Coliseum, but they are not mentioned in the first, they may be in the second. He attributes the desolation of Rome, as he saw it, to Guiscard; this however was not Cæsarean Rome, but that restored by the Popes. "Ea nos et alia Henrici quarti temporibus gesta considerantes, conjicimus urbem Romanam quæ Pontificum Romanorum beneficio imminutas longe supra vires non parum *instauraverat*, tunc prima ad hanc quæ nostris inest temporibus rerum exiguitatem esse perductam."—Quoted in *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 342. Query *instaurata erat*.

† Boninzone, Bishop of Sutri, in Dissertazione, p. 340.

‡ Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours, was in Rome in 1106. William of Malmesbury, De gestis Rer. Angl., lib. iii. p. 134, gives the following elegy:—

Par tibi Roma nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina
Quam magna fueris integra fracta doces.
Proh dolor! urbs cecidit cujus dum specto ruinas
Penso statum, solitus dicere; Roma fuit. Non

although what remained could not be equalled, what was ruined could never be repaired. What chiefly excited his astonishment was the beauty of the statues, which the gods themselves might survey with envy, and which, in his opinion at least, were worthy of being worshipped on the sculptor's account. William of Malmesbury, who reports the elegy of the latter writer, also informs us, that, comparatively speaking, Rome was now become a little town. In those times the rage of the conflicting factions was often vented against the houses of their enemies, and their destruction must have involved that of the neighbouring monuments, or of those in which the towers of the Roman nobles were,

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Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ignis
Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.
Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans
Æquari possit, diruta nec refici.
Confer opes, ebur, et marmor, superumque favorem
Artificum vigilent in nova facta manus.
Non tamen aut fieri par stanti fabrica muro
Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.
Cura hominem potuit tantam componere Romam
Quantum non potuit solvere cura deum.
Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi,
Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.
Non potuit natura deos hoc ore creare
Quo miranda deum signa creavit homo
Vultus adest his numinibus, potiusque coluntur
Artificum studio quam deitate sua.
Urbs felix si vel dominis urbs illa careret
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.

George Fabricius gives a part of this elegy in his Epistola Nuncupatoria prefixed to his Descriptio Romæ, ap. Græv., tom. iii.

in many instances, built. In 1116, the citizens, revolting against Pope Paschal II., threw down * several of the dwellings of the Pietro Leone family. The Emperor Lothaire II. in 1133 or 1134, pitched his camp on the Aventine. Innocent II. was in possession of the Lateran, the Coliseum, and the Capitol; and the partisans of the antipope, Anaclete, had the Vatican, the castle of St. Angelo, and many other strong places of the city.† In the annals of the twelfth century these strong places of Rome are mentioned as if they stood not in a city, but in a province.‡ The struggles between the pontiffs and the people, the revolution of Arnold of Brescia,§ renewed the contests of Vitellius and Sabinus for the Capitol, from which were alternately driven the adherents of the new senate and the friends of the Pope. The Basilica of St. Peter's was fortified for the

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* Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 384.

† Mr. Gibbon says, "I cannot recover in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. 1) the passage that attests this hostile partition," namely, "whilst one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and Coliseum," cap. lxxi. p. 420, vol. xii. The division is mentioned in Vita Innocentii Papæ II. ex Cardinale Aragonio, Script. Rer. Ital., tom. iii. part i. p. 435; and he might have found frequent other records of it at other dates.

‡ In the time of Innocent III., from 1195 to 1216, there were only 35,000 inhabitants within the walls.

§ It began in 1143, and was matured in 1145. Niccolini, in the Life of Arnold, prefixed to his tragedy of that name, defends his hero against the charge of destroying the palaces of the nobles, except those which were turned into fortresses. See Vit. d' Arnoldo. in Firenze, 1843.

people, and in those commotions (in 1145) it is recorded that many of the towers and palaces of the Roman nobles were levelled with the ground.*

Antiquaries have been able to catch a glimpse of the ruins fifty years subsequently to the fire of Guiscard, in some account of the ceremonials and processions of the papal court, written by a canon and chorister of St. Peter's,† who, besides those monuments whose names

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* Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 481.

† Benedicti. Beati. Petri. Canonici, &c., quoted before. He mentions the Arch of Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian, near the Ælian bridge; the Obelisk of Nero; the Circus of Alexander, in the Piazza Navona; the Temple of Concord, near the Arch of Severus; the Arch and Temple of Nerva (Nerviæ); a Temple of Janus; the Forum of Trajan; the Forum of Cæsar; the Arch of Titus and Vespasian, called Septem Lucernarum; the Arch of Constantine; the Coliseum; the Theatre of Pompey; the Pantheon, which he is thought to have called Porticus Agrippinæ, though in fact he calls it Sancta Maria Rotunda, Militiæ Tiberianæ, on the Quirinal; the Arch of Piety; the Memoria, or Temple, or Castle of Adrian; the Templum Fatale, near the Temple of Concord; the Pine, near the Palatine; the Arcus Manus Carneæ; the Mamertine dungeon; the Asylus, through the flinty road (Silicem) where Simon Magus fell, and near the Temple of Romulus; the Meta Sudans; the Sepulchre of Romulus, near the Vatican; a Portico of the Gallati before the Temple of the Sibyl; the Temple of Cicero; the Portico of the Comori, or Crinori; the Basilica of Jupiter; the Arch of Flaminius; the Porticus Severinus; the Temple of Craticula; the island Milicena and the Draconorium; the island of the Tiber, and the Temple of the Epidaurian Serpent; the Via Arenula; the Theatre of Antoninus; the Palace of Cromatius, where was the Holomitreum, or Oloritreum; the Macellus Lunanus, or Eumanus (an arch, probably that of Gallienus); the Temple of Marius, called Cimber; the Merulana; the arcus in Lathone; the house of Orpheus.—See *Museum Italicum.*, tom. ii. p. 118 to 157, edit. Paris, 1724.

are recognisable, mentions several objects disfigured by the barbarism of the times.

The caution before given must be repeated. There is good reason to suspect that many of the monuments which he mentions were not entire, but were noted as landmarks, as they might be at this day. The same canon gives us to understand, that the *roads in the city* were then so bad, that in the short days the Pope was obliged to conclude his procession before he came to the station prescribed by the ritual.* The language in which these ceremonies are described, is as barbarous as the ceremonies themselves; of which a cardinal, who transcribed another ritual belonging to the same century, has also preserved an extraordinary specimen. It would be difficult to find a more deplorable picture of human vicissitude than that afforded by the contrast of the triumph of Pompey through republican Rome, and the progress of a Pope of the twelfth century, on the day of his coronation, preceded by his subdeacon with a spitting-towel, followed by the new senators with their provision of wine, meat, and towels, and picking his way,

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* "Sed propter parvitatem diei et difficultatem viæ, facit stationem ad Sanctam Mariam Majorem, et vadit in secretarium."—*Ibid.*, num. 17, p. 126. The triumph of Aurelian lasted so long that it was dark before he reached the palace, but from a very different reason. "Denique vix nona hora in capitolium pervenit. Sero autem ad palatium."—Vopisc. *in Vita Aurelian.*

amongst fallen fragments, from shrine to shrine, and ruin to ruin.*

The monuments are occasionally mentioned in the struggles between the pontiffs and the emperors of the house of Suabia, and the intestine factions of the nobles, in which the strong places, the Coliseum, the Septizonium, the Mole of Hadrian, the Palatine castle of the Frangipani, were repeatedly assaulted and taken. In 1150 the people attacked and took certain towers belonging to the adherents of the Pope and William of Sicily.

We find, in the Annals for 1167, that the Germans of Frederic Barbarossa assaulted the Vatican for a week, and the Pope saved himself in the Coliseum.† The Colonna were driven from the mausoleum of Augustus. After the Popes had begun to yield in the unequal con-

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* "Ante dominum Papam aliquantulum sequestratus incedit prior subdiaconus regionarius cum toalea, ut cum voluit dominus Papa spuere possit illo gausape os suum mundare." Ordo Romanus XII. by Oricius de Sabellis, cardinal and chamberlain to Celestine III. He was afterwards Honorius III. The ritual was used before the year MCXCII.—See *Museum Italicum*, tom. ii. p. 165 to p. 220.

"Senatores, quando comedunt, habere debent *lavinam* mediam vini et mediam clareti in unaquaque die coronationis. Eiisdem etiam datur toalea, ubi comedunt, a panetariis, et postmodum redditur ipsis. Pro quadraginta comestionem recipiunt unaquaque die coronationis." Onufrius Panvinius renders lavinam "psalmam, or salmam, quo nomine sagina seu onus ac sarcina equi aliusque animalis oniferi intelligitur."—*Ibid.*, num. xxxvi. p. 202. As the new senators had food for *forty* allowed them, we may guess at their usual number, which has been so uncertain.

† Annali, tom. vi. p. 576 et seq.

test with the senators and people, and had ceased to be constantly resident at their capital, the field was left open for the wars of the senators, that is, of the nobles themselves. The Colonna and Ursini then appear amongst the destroyers of the city; and when, to arrest their violence, the people elected the senator Brancaleone (in 1252), the expedient of the Bolognese magistrate was to throw down not only 140 of the towers of the refractory nobles,* but, if we are to believe the Augustan history † of Henry VII., "many palaces of kings and generals, the remains of ages since the build-

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* "Brancaleo interim senator Romanus, turres nobilium Romanorum diruit et eorundem dominos incarceravit." — Mat. Paris. *Henric. III.*, p. 972, edit. London, 1640.

"Eodem quoque anno senator Romanus Brancaleo videns insolentiam et superbiam nobilium Romanorum non posse aliter reprimi nisi castra eorum, qui erant quasi spoliatorum carceres, prosternerentur, dirui fecit eorundem nobilium turres circiter centum et quadraginta, et solo tenus complanari."—*Ibid.*, p. 975.

"Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et extirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et justitiæ imitator, et amator."—*Ibid.*, p. 980.

† "Nec hactenus subsistit viri audentis [*Jacob-Joannis Arloti degli Stephanisci*] acerbitas ut si quidem Brancaleonem, Bononiensem (qui regum, ac ducum per tot ab urbe condita sæcula palatia, thermas, fana, columnas, verterat in ruinas) ipse memorabiliter supererat."—Alberti Mussati, *Historia Augusta, de gestis Henrici VII.*, lib. xi. rubrica xii. *ap. Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. x. p. 508, edit. Mediol., 1727. Mussatus was a Paduan, born about the year 1260, a laureate poet, and an historian. See the preface by Muratori, prefixed to the collection, tom. x. &c.

Gibbon (cap. lxix. p. 286 to 288, vol. xii. 8vo.), who has copied the eulogy of Matthew Paris, does not seem at all aware that Brancaleone applied his *hammer* to the ancient fabrics. Mussatus, however, was a contemporary.

ing of the city, the thermæ, the fanes, and the columns," of the old town. If this was the case, the tumults and the repose of Rome were alike destructive of her ancient fabrics. This record must, however, be believed with some reserve; and, indeed, the same history informs us, that there were relics which escaped the vigour of this administration, and which a rival of the fame of Brancaleone (in 1313) intended to destroy. But his labours were confined to a single tower, which impeded the passage of the people across the Tiber, at the bridge of Santa Maria.

There were intervals between the death and choice of the Popes, when the city seems to have been unprovided with any recognised authorities, and the senate itself had no representative. Such an interregnum occurred after the death of Nicholas IV. in 1291, and six months of civil war* are described by a spectator as having

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* "Assumpti populi capitolia jussu
Ascendunt: sed morte ducis vis annua mense
Clauditur Ursini, timidoque furentis in arma
Descensu, dum scripta petit, dum fossa sigilla.
Quo gradior? quid plura sequor, quæ texere longum?
Hoc dixisse sat est; Romam caruisse senatu.
Mensibus exactis, heu! sex, belloque vocatum
In scelus, in socios, fraternaque vulnera patres.
Tormentis jecisse viros immania saxa
Perfodisse domos *trabibus*, fecisse ruinas
Ignibus, incensas turres . . . . ."

See Vita Celestini Papæ V. opus metricum. Jacobi Cardinalis S. Georgii ad velum-aureum. Coævi et in Papatu familiaris. Script.

reduced Rome to the condition of a town *besieged, bombarded,* and *burnt.* The *petrariæ,* or engines for discharging stones, which unfortunately survived the loss of other ancient arts, had arrived, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the pernicious perfection of darting enormous masses, perhaps of 1200 pounds weight. They are noted amongst the instruments of destruction employed at Rome in this and the subsequent period, and were erected on the basilicas and towers.*

A year previously to the attempt of the second Brancaleone,† the Emperor, Henry VII. had found that all the towers had not been thrown down by the Bolognese senator, for he was obliged to drive the Annibaldi from the Torre de' Militii, from the tower of St. Mark, and from the Coliseum; and, so late as the reign of Martin V. there were forty-four towers in one borgo of the city.‡

Rer. Ital., tom. iii. p. 621, cap. iii. This classical cardinal chooses to correct *velabro*, the actual old word, into velum-aureum. The *trabes* were battering-rams, called *gatti*, cat's-head.

* Antiq. Med. Ævi. Dissert. 26, p. 432, tom. i. Italian edition. The Romans used them in the ninth century.

† His name was James-John-Arloti-Stephanisci. The Abate Fea, Dissertazione, &c., p. 361, 362, seems to overlook that this Stephanisci and his adherents did not succeed. "Sed secus ac præmeditati sunt, fortuna, successusque vota eorum distraxere," says Mussatus, in loc. citat. The Abate believes he discovers signs of modern work on the portico of the temple of Faustina, and above the arch of Pantani, which he thinks were thrown down by Brancaleone.

‡ Dissertazione 26, sopra le Antichita Italiane, p. 446, tom. i., edit. Milan, 1751.

The coronation of the Emperor Henry VII. was attended with battles fought in every quarter of the city from the Vatican to the Lateran;* and whilst he received the ensigns of universal empire in the latter church, his rival John, the brother of Robert of Naples, was in possession of the fortress (the church) of St. Peter's, and of several other posts in the heart of Rome. The fall of houses, the fire, the slaughter, the ringing of the bells from all the churches, the shouts of the combatants, and the clanging of arms, the *Roman* people rushing together from all quarters towards the Capitol—this universal uproar was the strange, but not unusual, prelude to the coronation of a Cæsar. A spectator of these disasters records,† that they continued after the Emperor had retired from Rome to Tivoli, and that the cardinals apprehended the total destruction of the city.

It is doubtful to what period to assign an account of the ruins which a pilgrim saw and described before this last calamity. The book on "*the Wonders of Rome*" which has been before cited, would appear to have been

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* "Historia Augusta, Albert. Mussati, in loc. citat., lib. viii. Rubrica IV. Conversatio Cæsaris cum Romanorum principibus, et cohortatio ad dandas fortilitias." Henry made a speech to these princes, and called them "*Quirites*."—See Rubrica V.

† See Iter Italicum Henrici VII. Imperat. Nicolai episcopi Botrontinensis ap. Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ix. p. 885. "Rebus quas narrat interfuit." Muratori says, in his preface,—"Deinde Cardinales videntes commotionem populi et urbis continuam destructionem."—Ibid., p. 919.

written before Brancaleone had commenced his operations against the towers of the nobles, for there are a great many of such objects noticed by the pilgrim. The eyes and ears of this "barbarous topographer"* are not so valuable to us as Gibbon appears to have supposed; for notwithstanding his use of the present tense, he speaks certainly of many objects either partially ruined or totally overthrown. The number of the theatres and arches seen by him is nearly equal to that in the plan of old Rome: he talks of an imperial palace in the Palatine, of a palace of Romulus, and, in other respects, is ambitious of telling what he had heard, rather than what he had seen.† Of his antiquarian lore our historian has given a specimen in his account of the Capitoline bells and statues;‡ and to this may be added, that he calls the Fasti of Ovid the *martyrology*, because it contains mention of *nones* and *kalends*. The pilgrim was perhaps as learned as the people of Rome, some of whom, in the next century, believed that the sports of the Testacean mount, and the rolling cartloads of live

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* Decline and Fall, &c., cap. lxxi. p. 399, vol. xxi. oct.

† "Palatia magna imperatorum ista sunt, palatium majus in Palentio monte positum."—See Montf., *Diar. Ital.*, in loc. citat., p. 284.

"Palatium Romuli inter S. Mariam novam et S. Cosmatem ubi sunt duæ ædes pietatis et concordiæ, ubi posuit Romulus statuam suam auream dicens." "Non cadet nisi virgo paret; statim ut parturit virgo, statua illa corruit."—Ibid.

‡ Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. p. 395, tom. xii. octavo.

hogs down that hill, were the festal amusements of Cato and Cicero.*

The absence of the popes from the year 1306 to 1376, has been esteemed peculiarly calamitous to the ancient fabrics; but this supposition is founded upon the apparently false conception, that the bishops of Rome protected the monuments, and that the integrity of many, even of the larger structures, was protracted to the fourteenth century. The only protection of which the remains of the old town could boast, during the middle ages, proceeded from the popular government, which on one occasion prohibited the injury of the column of Trajan under pain of death.† The senate and the people were invested with the nominal guardianship of the edifices not occupied by the nobles, and in much later times may be discerned to have shown some respect to the memorials of their ancestors. A northern German, who came to Rome in the pontificate of Pius IV. and whom Flaminius Vacca calls a Goth, applied to the apostolic chamber for permission to excavate at the base of some of the ancient structures, in search of treasure, which his barbarous ancestors were supposed to have left behind them in the precipitancy of a three days' plunder. The German was told that permission must

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* "Ludi fiunt agonales, aut in campo quem Testaceum appellant, quem nonnulli hodie ex vulgo putant veterum senatorum gestamen extitisse."—See *Frederici III. advent. Rom. ap. Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 258, edit. 1724.

† See previous notice of this in Chap. IX.

be obtained from the Roman people, to whom the monuments belonged. It seems that he procured leave to commence his labours; but having been observed to dig deeply, the populace alarmed at his progress, which endangered their arch, and indignant that the Goths should return to complete the spoliation of Alaric, drove the excavator from his labours, with a violence which proved nearly fatal to him.*

Had it been possible to establish the popular government which was the aim of Rienzi, during the absence of the popes, the Romans, whose love of liberty was to be kept alive by a constant reference to the institutions of their ancestors, would have been taught to venerate, though blindly, the trophies of their former glory. The tribune would not have partaken with Colonna alone the pride and pleasure to be derived from the study of those eloquent remains. Notwithstanding their pastor had deserted them, and they were a prey to the disorders occasioned by the struggles of their ferocious nobles, the period of the exile at Avignon is distinguished for the decency and magnificence with which their public functions were performed.† In proportion as they shook off

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* Memorie di Flaminio Vacca, p. xvi. num. 103. The Memoirs are at the end of one of the Italian editions of Nardini.

† "Veniva la persona del Senatore con maestà a cavallo sopra bianca chinea, &c.

"Veniva il Gonfaloniere del Popolo Romano: e questo dignità si in pace, come in guerra porta lo standardo grande della libertà Romana, il quale era di tabi cremesino con le lettere + S. P. Q. R."

the papal yoke, they appear to have recovered some portion of their ancient splendour, and a change has been observed to have taken place in their manners so early as the middle of the thirteenth century. They received the unfortunate Conradin* in 1268, with a state which surprised his suite. The desolation of the city during the papal residence at Avignon has been selected from ages of more rapid destruction, because it has been transmitted to us in all the colours of eloquence. Petrarch, however, has been unfairly quoted as a proof of what Rome suffered by the absence of the popes.† It should be remembered that his first wish was the establishment of the republic of Rienzi, and the second, the reign and presence of an emperor at Rome: whilst the reconciliation of the shepherd with his flock was only the last resource which remained for a patriot and a Roman who had lost all hope of liberty or empire.‡ One of those shepherds, Innocent VI., thought Petrarch a

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—See *Ordine e Magnificenza de i Magistrati Romani nel tempo che la Corte del Papa stava in Avignone.—Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 855, Dissert. 29. The writer praises not only their scarfs and velvets, but their justice and virtue and republican pride.

* Antiq. Med. Ævi. Dissert. 23, tom. ii. p. 313. Muratori, according to the old way of thinking, talks of "quel ladro del lusso."

† By the Abate Fea in his dissertation.

‡ Decline and Fall, c. lxx. p. 363, tom. xii. oct. See also Mémoires pour la Vie de Pétrarque, liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 335, for Rienzi; also, liv. iv. tom. iii. p. 66, for the Emperor Charles. For what Petrarch thought of the church, see liv. iv. p. 277, tom. iii. edit. Amsterdam, 1747.

sorcerer. The poet of the Capitol* was overwhelmed first with delight and then with regret. He complained that the very ruins were in danger of perishing; that the nobles were the rivals of time and the ancient barbarians;† and that the columns and precious marbles of Rome were devoted to the decoration of the slothful metropolis of their Neapolitan rivals. Yet it appears that these columns and marbles were taken from palaces comparatively modern, from the thresholds of churches, from the shrines of sepulchres, from structures to which they had been conveyed from their original site, and

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* For the surprise of Petrarch, when he first came to Rome, see his letter to John Colonna, de Reb. Familiarib. Epist. lib. ii. Ep. xiv. p. 605, edit. Basil, 1581, "ab urbi Roma quod expectat," &c. Colonna, however, had told him not to expect too much. "Solebas enim, memini, me veniendo dehortari hoc maxime prætextu, ne ruinosæ urbis aspectu famæ non respondente atque opinioni meæ, ex libris conceptæ, ardor meus ille lentesceret." Colonna's evidence is better than Petrarch's, who would be astonished now, as we are, at what still remains.

† "Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis.
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ
Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu! heu!
Quare rabies occurre malis, hoc scilicet unum.
Quod ille (*Hannibal*) nequivit
Perfecit hic aries—tua fortia pectora mendax
Gloria non moveat," &c.

—*Carmina Latina*, l. ii. Epist. Paulo Annibalensi, xii. p. 98. Petrarch presumed that the ruins around him had been occasioned by the mischiefs which he saw, and which were *partly* the cause of dilapidation.

finally from fallen ruins.* The solid masses of antiquity are not said to have suffered from this spoliation, and the edifices, whose impending ruin affected the laureate, were the sacred Basilicas then converted into fortresses.† The great earthquake of 1349 may have been more pernicious than human violence, and would appear, from Petrarch‡

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* The distinction is carefully to be observed. The words of Petrarch are,—"Denique post vi aut senio collapsa pallatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan corruerunt) de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem questum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit."—See *Epistola Hortatoria ad Nichol. Laurentium, Trib. P. Q. R. de Capessenda Libertate*, p. 536.

"Sed quo animo, da quæso misericors Pater temerariæ devotioni meæ veniam, quo, inquam, animo, tu ad ripam Rhodani sub auratis tectorum laquearibus somnium capis, et Lateránum humi jacet et ecclesiarum mater omnium tecto carens, et ventis patet, ac pluviis, et Petri ac Pauli sanctissimæ domus tremunt, et apostolorum quæ nunc ædes fuerat jam ruina est." Petrarch wrote this to Urban V., who began his reign in 1352.—*Epist. Rer. Sen.*, lib. vii. Epist. i. opera. p. 815, tom. ii.

† "Quod templa celeberrima, et sanctissima in Christianitate, augusta illa monumenta pietatis Constantini Magni, ubi Summi Pontifices, cum insignibus supremæ suæ dignitatis capiunt possessionem Sedis Apostolicæ penitus neglecta maneant, sine honore, sine ornamentis, sine instauratione, et omni ex parte ruinas minentur." This was the complaint of a deputation from the senate and Roman people to the cardinals in 1378.—*Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, &c., p. 369.

‡ "Cecidit ædificiorum veterum neglecta civibus, stupenda peregrinis moles," says Petrarch, lib. x. Epist. ii. He confines, however, his individual mention to the Tor de' Conti, to the fall of a good part of the church of St. Paul, and of the roof of the Lateran.

"Turris illa totó orbe unica, quæ Comitum dicebatur, ingentibus ruinis laxata dissiluit, et nunc velut trunca caput superbi verticis honorem solo effusum despicit," lib. x. Epist. ii. oper.

It may be suspected Petrarch did not distinguish exactly between

and from another authority,* to have thrown down some of the ancient monuments; and an inundation of the Tiber in 1345 is faithfully recorded amongst the afflictions of the times. The summits of the hills alone were above the water, which converted the lower grounds to a lake for eight days.†

The absence of the popes might have been fatal to the modern city, and have reduced it to a solitude;‡ but such a solitude would have protected many a fragment, which their return and the subsequent rapid repopulation have for ever annihilated. Their return§ was the signal of renewed violence. The Colonna and Orsini, the people and the church, fought for the Capitol and towers; and the fortress of the popes, the refitted mole of Hadrian, repeatedly bombarded the town.‖

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the old Roman remains and the buildings of the papal town. The Tor de' Conti was built in 1203.

* "In urbe vero cecidit quædam columna de marmore quæ sustinebat ecclesiam Sancti Pauli cum tertia parte vel circa cooperti ipsius ecclesiæ, et multæ aliæ ecclesiæ ibi et ædificia mirabiliter ceciderunt."—See *Chronicon Mutinense auctore Johanne de Bazano. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. xv. p. 615.

† Historiæ Romanæ fragmenta, cap. xv. de lo grandissimo diluvio e piena de acqua de lo Fiume Tevere.—See *Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 392.

‡ "Perche Roma senza la presenza de' Pontefici è piùttosto simile a una solitudine che a una città," says Guicciardini, on the occasion of Adrian VI.'s entry into Rome.—See *Dell' Istoria d' Italia*, lib. xv. p. 1015, fol. There were, in fact, only 17,000 inhabitants in 1377, as stated by Cancellieri in his letter on the climate of Rome.

§ In 1378, in the reign of Urban VI., the great schism began.

‖ In 1404, after the death of Boniface IX.—also in 1405—and again in the civil war between Innocent VII. and the Romans.

During the great schism of the West, the hostile entries of Ladislaus of Naples,* and the tumultuary government of the famous Perugian, Braccio Montone,† are known to have despoiled the Tomb of Hadrian.‡ Perhaps they were fatal to other monuments.

Yet that violence was probably less pernicious than

"E in quello subito lo castello di Sant' Angelo si ruppe co i Romani e commenciò a bombardare per Roma."—See Stephan. Infessura, *Scriba del Senato e Popolo Romano, Diario della citta di Roma, ap. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 1115.

* Ladislaus came peaceably into Rome on the 15th of September, 1404: on the 20th of August, 1405, three thousand of his horse entered Rome, and a battle was fought in the streets near the castle. In April, 1408, Ladislaus besieged the city by sea and land, and was put in possession of all the strong places. The Colonnas and other banished nobles attacked the town in June. The Duke of Anjou and Paul Orsini, with 23,000 troops, endeavoured in 1408 to expel Ladislaus, but retired. Orsini, however, returned in December, and Ladislaus was driven out. In 1413 Ladislaus returned, broke down the walls at the gate of the Lateran, and got possession of the city and castle. He died in 1414: his title was, "hujus almæ Urbis Illuminator illustris." Pieri, in his diary, relating his death, says, "Cujus anima benedicatur per contrarium."—See Vendettini, *Serie Cronologica de' Senatori di Roma*, p. 75, edit. Roma, 1778.

† The exploits of Braccio di Montone are contained in six books, a biography written by John Antony Campano, bishop of Terni. He flourished from 1368 to 1424.—See *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. xix. In 1417 he entered Rome with his troops, and attacked the castle of St. Angelo, which was in possession of the queen of Naples, Joanna, and was obliged to retreat.—Ibid. p. 545. He was captain of the people for seventy days, and when forced to retire, out of spite to the Romans, broke the banks of the lake *Pedelupo* (*pie di Lup*), in the Reatine territory, which caused a tremendous inundation of the Tiber in 1422. According to Step. Infessura, *Diar.*, &c., p. 1122, loc. citat., Braccio was killed in battle on the 2nd of June, 1424.

‡ See notice of the Castle of St. Angelo.

the peaceful spoliation which succeeded the extinction of the schism in the person of Martin V. in 1417, and the suppression, in 1434, of the last revolt of the Romans by his successor, Eugenius IV. From this epoch must be dated the consumption of such marble or travertine as might either be stripped with facility from the stable monuments or be found in isolated fragments. A broken statue, a prostrate, or even a standing column, in the habitable part of the town, and the larger structures yet remaining in the vineyards, were considered by the owners of the land, within and without the walls, as their own property, and to be applied to their own use. The repairs commenced by Martin V., and carried on more vigorously by Eugenius,* required a supply of materials and of cement, which was obtained from the ruins.

The triumph of superstition conspired with the ignorance and individual necessities of the Romans to render them more indifferent to the relics of pagan antiquity. Whatever nationality and patriotism they had evinced in the times of turbulence were degraded into a blind veneration for the shrines of the apostles and for the person of their successor. A secretary of the Popes, an antiquary, and one who may be surely cited as a favourable specimen of the better class of citizens,

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* "Sed collapsa deformataque edificia multis in locis maximo instauras reficisque impendio."—*Præfatio ad Eugenium IV. Pont. Max.* Flavii Blondi, *Roma Instaurata*, edit. Taur. 1527.

modestly confesses that there was some difference between the Rome of Eugenius IV. and that of Pompey and the first Cæsars. "At the same time," says he, "our Pontifex is indeed a perpetual dictator, not the successor of Cæsar, but the successor of the fisherman Peter, and the vicar of the Emperor Jesus Christ."* Besides," he adds, "there are still at Rome most high and admirable objects which can be seen nowhere else. For this very city has the threshold of the apostles and the earth purple with the blood of the martyrs. It has the handkerchief of St. Veronica; it has the place called 'Domine quo vadis,' where Christ met St. Peter and left the marks of his feet in the stone. It has the heads of Peter and Paul, the milk of the Virgin, the cradle and foreskin of our Saviour,† the

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* Flavii Blondi, Roma Instaurata. "Dictatorem nunc perpetuum, non Cæsaris sed Piscatoris Petri successorem et Imperatoris prædicti Vicarium Pontificem," &c.—Lib. iii. fo. 41, edit. Taurin. 1527.

† This relic was shamefully neglected whilst the popes were at Avignon. At last the Virgin appeared to St. Brigith, exclaiming, "O Roma, Roma, si scires, gauderes utique, immo si scires fleres incessanter, quia habes thesaurum mihi carissimum, et non honoras illum." "E forse," says Marangoni, writing in the middle *of the eighteenth century!* "che la madre di Dio stessa indirizzò questo lamento agli ultimi secoli, e specialmente allo scorso XVI. nel quale, essendo quasi che spenta la venerazione, e memoria di questa Divina Reliquia in Roma, questa Città ricevette il castigo di esserne privata." The relic was stolen by one of the heretics and *loose livers* of Bourbon's army, *forse il piu ardito e facinoroso degli altri*, but was found in an underground cell at Calcata, twenty miles from Rome, by a noble lady, Maddelena Strozzi, after Pope Clement VII.

chains of St. Peter, the spousal-ring sent from heaven to the maiden Agnes. To see, to touch, to venerate all which, and many more things, more than fifty thousand strangers from all parts of the world come to Rome in the time of Lent."

These relics certainly may have preserved the existence of Rome, but were no protection to her ancient structures. The same writer notices the daily destruction of monuments, which he avers to be so visible as to make him loathe the abode at Rome.* The fatal lime-burning awakened the indignation of a poet,† to whom it appeared a new offence; and the testimony of Blondus and Æneas Sylvius shows that there was some ground for the exaggeration of the angry Florentine, who, having witnessed the destruction of some

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had in vain given every order to recover it. The discovery was attended with repeated miracles, of all which an authentic account may be seen in the *Istoria della Capella di sancta sanctorum di Roma*, cap. xxxix. edit. 1747, by the famous Marangoni, the author of the Memoir on the Coliseum.

* "Cujus rei tanta singulos dies videmus exempla ut ea solum modo causa nos aliquantum Romæ fastidiat habitatio. Multis enim in locis vineas videmus ubi superbissima ædificia vidimus quorum quadrati lapides tiburtini in calcem sunt cocti."—Lib. iii. fol. 33.

† "Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas,
Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet.
Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis
Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.
Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos,
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit."

—Mabillon. *Mus. Italic.*, p. 95, tom. i., written by Picolomini to Bartholomeus Roverella.

monuments, wonders that any remnant of antiquity should have escaped the fury and cupidity of the Romans.*

Of republican Rome, Poggio reckoned the double row of vaults in the Capitol, constructed by Catulus, then converted into a public magazine for salt; the Sepulchre of Publicius; the Fabrician bridge over the Tiber; an arch, over the road beneath the Aventine mount, made and approved by P. Lentulus Scipio and Titus Quintius Crispinus; the monuments called the Trophies of Marius (they belong to the time of Trajan); and the Cestian Pyramid (which is hardly of the time of the republic).

Of Imperial Rome nothing was entire but the Pantheon. The fragments were, three arches and one column of the Temple of Peace; the Temple of Romulus, dedicated to Cosmas and Damianus; a few vestiges of the double Temple of Castor and Pollux, at Sta. Maria Nuova; the marble columns of the Portico of Antoninus and Faustina; the peripteral Temple of Vesta on the Tiber; a portion of the Temple of Minerva; a part of the portico of the Temple of Concord; the Temple of Saturn, or church of St. Hadrian; a portico of the Temple of Mercury at the Pescaria; a Temple of Apollo, converted into a part of St. Peter's;

* "Quas sæpe miror insaniam demolientium effugisse." He is talking of two arches in the Flaminian way.—*De Fortunæ Varietate*, &c., ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 500.

a very ancient temple of a single vault at the roots of the Tarpeian, called the Church of St. Michael, *in Statera*, falsely supposed of Jupiter Stator; the Baths of Diocletian and Severus Antoninus, still so called, most perfect, with many columns and marbles; the smaller remains of the Constantine Baths in the Quirinal; the Baths of Alexander Severus, near the Pantheon (pulchra et præclara vestigia); the Domitian Thermæ (perpauca rudera), which were the Baths of Titus; the Arches of Severus, of Titus, of Constantine, almost entire; a part of one of Nerva; a part of one of Trajan, near what he calls the Comitium; two in the Flaminian way, one called Triopolis (the Arcus Portogalli or Tres Facicellæ, the other without a name; another Arch of Gallienus in the Via Numentana;* one alone of all the *nine* aqueducts (fourteen he should have said) entire; this was the Acqua Virgo, and had been repaired; the Coliseum, the greater part of it destroyed for lime; a portion of a theatre, called of Julius Cæsar, between the Tarpeian and the Tiber, together with many marble columns opposite to it; part of a portico of a round temple, built upon, with gardens within, called *of Jupiter* (this seems the Theatre of Marcellus); an amphitheatre of square

* Gibbon, cap. lxxi. p. 398, vol. xii., has made a careless blunder for the sake of a period by putting this in the Flaminian way; the words are positive—"Duo insuper viâ Flaminia——est *alter* præterea Gallieno Principi dicatus ut suprascriptio indicat *Via Numentana*."

brick, near Santa Croce *in Gerusalemme,* mixed with the city wall;* a large open place where the people met *ad venationem et spectaculum,* called *agonis,*† the Mole *Divi Adriani et Divæ Faustinæ,* in great part destroyed by the Romans; the Sepulchre of Augustus, a mound with a vineyard in the inside; the Column of Trajan, with the inscription; the Column of Antoninus Pius (Aurelius), without the inscription; the Sepulchre of Cecilia Metella, the greater part destroyed for lime; the Sepulchre of Marcus Antius Lupus, two miles in the Ostian way, composed of three large stones with an inscription.‡

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* Gibbon, equally careless as before, says, "After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggio might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the Prætorian camp;" but he did not overlook it; here it is.

† Gibbon unaccountably also reckons this amongst the objects not seen by Poggio, together with the Theatres of Marcellus and Pompey, and the Circus Maximus, whose remains, it is true, he does not mention, and therefore prevents us from saving his credit by thinking the phrase, *he might have overlooked,* capable of a double construction: our historian evidently meant *he had* overlooked them.

‡ No more is found in the treatise as published in Sallengre, tom. i. p. 501 to 508. Gibbon consulted the quarto edition, published in Paris 1723; but the strangest contradiction has crept into his text. In cap. lxxi. he opens thus—"In the last days of Pope Eugenius IV. two of his servants, the learned Poggius and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill:" the note to this runs thus—"I have already (note 50, 51, in chap. lxv.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius, and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of Fortune." Turn to the cited note, 51, cap. lxv. p. 33, tom. xii. 8vo. "The dialogue de varietate Fortunæ was composed a short time before the death of Pope Martin V., and consequently about the end of the year 1430."

In the interval between the two visits of Poggio to Rome, the cell and a part of the Temple of Concord, and of the base of the Tomb of Metella, had been ground to lime. A portico near the Minerva was also demolished for the same purpose. The Romans had discovered that mortar made with white, and more particularly oriental marble, was more serviceable than that of common stone.* The other scattered relics, particularly the columns strewed about the quarter between the Tarpeian rock and the Tiber, must have quickly disappeared in the subsequent re-

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How are the two to be reconciled? In fact, Poggio himself says, "Nuper cum Pontifex Martinus paulo antequam diem suum obiret, ab urbe in agrum Tusculanum secessit valetudinis causa," &c. &c.

* Some years back some kilns were discovered near Ostia full of broken marbles. *Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, p. 374, note A. "Essendosi provato colla esperienza che la calce fatta col marmo bianco e coll' orientale in ispecie era maravigliosa."—*Ibid.* See also Flam. Vacca, *Mem.*, No. 12, 13, 14. In certain excavations made in his time, it was seen that the "Antichi moderni," as he calls them—the "middle-age barbarians," looked upon a statue or a frieze as so much marble to be used either as lime or broken to fill up holes in walls, or laid down to level pavements. Many fragments of statues were found near the ruins of kilns before the church of SS. Quatro Coronati. The hospital of St. John of Lateran was supported by a large massive foundation-wall, all composed of pieces of statues of the finest workmanship, evidently Greek, and of the style of the Belvedere Laocoon. In a modern antique structure in front of St. Lorenzo without the walls, the walls and foundations were made up of similar materials—amongst them were eighteen or twenty heads of Roman emperors. Well might Vacca exclaim, "What becomes of all the labours of us poor sculptors?" He finished his Memorie in 1594.

form and decorations of the new capital. Poggio's description of the ruins is, it may have been observed, not sufficiently minute or correct to supply the deficiency of his contemporary Blondus; but we may distinctly mark that the site of ancient Rome had arrived at the desolation in which it is seen at this day. The labours of succeeding topographers have enabled us to account for the loss of the monuments which he enumerates, and which are no longer to be seen. The fabrication of churches and other buildings was continued with so pernicious an activity during the reign of Nicolas V. (elected in 1447), the modern Augustus, that Pius II. enforced the complaints which he had uttered as a poet by issuing a bull in 1462 *de Antiquis ædificiis non diruendis.** This prudence was but a feeble check against the renewed demand for materials which ensued upon the total reform of the city by Sixtus IV. in 1480. The Rome of the Republic had soon been lost, the capital of the early Cæsars had been afterwards abandoned. But isolated structures of the latter city were found not only in the ancient site but in the Campus Martius. The Rome of the lower and middle ages was a mass of irregular lanes, built upon or amongst ruins, and surmounted by brick towers, many of them propped on ancient basements. The streets were as narrow as those

* Dissertazione, p. 373.

of Pompeii or old Rome;* two horsemen could with difficulty ride abreast. Two hundred houses, three towers, and three churches choked up the Forum of Trajan.† The reformation of Sixtus IV., and the embellishments of his successors, have completely obliterated this town, ‡ and that which we now see is a capital which can only date from the end of the fifteenth century.

This reformation has been justly fixed upon as the

Vicinus meus est manuque tangi
De nostris Novius potest fenestris.
Mart., lib. i. epig. 77.

Does this mean contiguous or opposite?

† They were removed by Paul III. on the occasion of Charles V.'s entry into Rome in 1536, April 5.

‡ The origin of this reform is attributed by Infessura in his diary (tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1145, *Script. Rer. Italic.*) to Ferdinand of Naples. "E parlando con Papa Sisto disse, che esso non era Signore di questa terra, per amore de i Porticali, per le vie strette, e per li mignani, e che bisognando di mettere in Roma gente d'arme le donne coi mortari da i detti mignani li fariano fuggire." The motive was as irresistible as the improvement was desirable, and Sixtus IV. followed the advice of Ferdinand. The Abate Fea (dissert. 372), to prove that the plan originated with Sixtus himself, says that the Pope makes no mention in his bull of having received the hint from any one. Nor does the Abate tell us that he borrowed his Greek knowledge from Latin translations, nor does that omission make us attach less value to his excellent dissertation on the ruins of Rome. The writer of this note will be more ingenuous than either Sixtus or the Abate; he will confess that the dissertation has been constantly open before him during the progress of his researches, and that, after disencumbering it of its learning, and arriving in many cases at conclusions entirely different, he has resorted to it freely, though never without acknowledgment, for such materials as could not be consulted without a reference to the Roman libraries.

epoch of the final destruction of whatever portion of the old city might have been confounded with the Rome of the middle ages. The enlargement and the straightening of the streets removed every obstacle, and must have consumed the bases of many ancient structures which had been buried under modern fabrics, and had escaped the notice of Blondus and Poggio. The practice before remarked continued during the succeeding pontificate of Julius II.: statues and marbles were still burnt for lime, and the antiquarian taste which arose with the revival of letters despoiled, rather than protected the fabrics of Rome. Paradoxical as such an assertion may appear, it is indubitable that in the golden reign of Leo X. the barbarism of defacement and destruction was at its height. It was during the pontificate of another of the Medici, Clement VII., that one of the same family, Lorenzino, carried off the heads of the captives on the Arch of Constantine. The spoliation was only impeded by the plague of 1522, and by the distresses of the reign of the same Clement.

The sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V. has been loudly proclaimed* more detrimental than that of the Goths. The complaint, however, comes from those who thought no hyperbole too extravagant to

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* Da Barga says, "Atque utinam qui nostra ætate eandem urbem hostes ab se expugnatam depopulati sunt, hujusmodi exemplum sibi ante oculos posuissent."—*De œdificior. urb. Rom. eversor.*, p. 1816, loc. citat.

heighten the picture of that calamity. The churches and palaces were pillaged,* and the chambers of the Vatican, the frescoes of Raphael, still bear witness to the barbarity of the Spanish, German, and Italian invaders. "Statues, columns, precious stones, and many monuments of antiquity," are noted amongst the spoil;† but no memory is preserved of the attack of the standing fabrics, except of the Mole of Hadrian, already a modern fortress. The nine months' ravage of the Imperialists‡ was preceded by the three hours' sack of the Colonnas§ in 1526, and was followed by that of

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* "Però sarebbe impossibile non solo narrare, ma quasi imaginarsi le calamità di quella città, destinata per ordine de' cieli a somma grandezza, ma eziandio a spesse distruttioni; perchè ero l' anno novecento e ottanta, ch' era stata saccheggiata da' Gotti; impossibile a narrare la grandezza della preda essendovi accumulate tante richezze, e tante cose pretiose e rare di cortigiani e di mercatanti."—Guicciard. *dell' Istoria d' Italia*, lib. xviii. p. 1266, edit. Ven. 1738.

"Non avendo rispetto non solo al nome de gli amici, e all' autorità, e dignità de' prelati, ma eziandio a' templi, a' monasterii, alle reliquie, mirate dal concorso di tutto il mondo e delle cose sacre."—*Ibid.*, p. 1265.

† "Restò Roma spogliata dell' esercito non solo d' una parte grande de gli abitatori con tante case desolate, e distrutte, ma eziandio spogliato di statue, di colonne, di pietre singulari, e di molti ornamenti d' antichità."—*Ibid.*, pp. 1302, 1303.

‡ Rome was assaulted by Bourbon, the 5th of May, 1527, and the Imperialists left it the 17th of February, 1528. Guicciard. p. 1302.

§ "Saccheggiavano il palazzo, e le cose e ornamenti sacri della chiesa di San Pietro: non avendo maggiore rispetto alla maestà di religione e all' orrore del sacrilegio, che avessino avuto i Turchi nelle chiese del regno d' Ungheria."—Lib. xvii. p. 1218.

the Abate di Farfa and the peasantry of the Orsini family. In 1530 a tremendous inundation of the Tiber is said to have ruined edifices both public and private, and to have been equally calamitous with the sack of Rome.* Yet these disasters seem chiefly to have affected the houses and a few churches, and were soon repaired in the splendid pontificate of the succeeding Popes. So rapidly did they proceed with the embellishment of the new capital that the city of Paul III. was hardly to be recognised in the time of Urban VIII. † The former destruction was renewed. The bull of Paul III., issued in 1534, which made it a capital and unpardonable offence to grind down statues ‡ or pieces of marble, and appointed an antiquarian commissary to enforce the law, extended nominally to the architectural remains; yet we know that portions of the ruins were employed in modern buildings by that Pope himself, and were afterwards consumed for the same purpose. The Farnese, the Mattei, the Borghese, and the Barberini, searched for and col-

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* Annali d'Italia ad an. 1530, tom. x. p. 242. There was another terrible inundation in 1557, and another still more dreadful in 1598.

† It is Donatus who says, that if Charles V. were to come back to Rome in Urban VIII.'s time, he would not recognise the city which he had seen from the top of the Pantheon.—Roma Vetus, lib. i. cap. xxix.

‡ Dissertazione sulle Rovine, p. 375. The edict is there given, addressed to the commissary Lucio Manetti.

lected the statues,* and inscribed marbles, to adorn their museums; but their palaces either levelled or consumed many fragments which could not be preserved as the walls of modern buildings. The stupendous vaults of the Diocletian thermæ were converted into churches,† the walls of those of Constantine were adjusted into the Rospigliosi palace.‡ The Alexandrine thermæ supplied with columns the repairs of the Pantheon.§ A circus was gradually cleared away for the opening of the piazza Navona. The summer-house of the Farnese rose from the ruins of the Palatine. The marble threshold and broken columns from which Poggio‖ had contemplated the vicissitudes of fortune were removed, and probably employed in the construction of the new capitol of Michael Angelo. The marble of a temple on the Quirinal was cut into

* There were a great many portable *antiquities* dispersed in the time of Fabricius (1550)—bas-reliefs and other pieces of sculpture, scattered about in various parts of the city, and exposed to injury. Yet there were five antiquarian museums then in Rome.—*Descriptio Romæ*, cap. xx. and xxi. *ap. Græv. Antiq.* tom. iii.

† S. Maria degli Angioli, by Pius IV., who employed M. Angelo; and S. Bernardo alle terme, changed into a church by a private individual, Catherine Sforza, Countess of S. Fiora, in 1598.

‡ Great remains of the Baths of Constantine were seen in the age before Donatus. Lib. iii. cap. xv.

§ By Alexander VII.

‖ "Consedimus in ipsis Tarpejæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim confractas columnas." . . . . De Fortunæ Variet. Ap. 501, loc. citat.

the 124 steps which ascend to the church of Aracœli.* We have before noticed the destruction of ancient monuments by the Popes, and it is equally evident that the Pontiffs were, on the restoration of Rome, powerfully seconded by the luxury and taste of the prelates and princes. Flaminius Vacce† leads us to believe, that in his time, the latter half of the sixteenth century, it was usual for the sculptors to cut their statues from columns; and he narrates that Cardinal Cesi fitted up a chapel in Santa Maria della Pace with *statues and prophets*, worked from the pilasters found behind the conservators' palace on the Tarpeian rock, and believed to be a part of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. The great palace of the Cancellaria of Riario‡ had before robbed a part of the Coliseum, and levelled some remains of baths, or of an arch of the Emperor Gordian. The infinite quantity of precious marbles which adorns the churches of Rome must have been chiefly extracted from the ancient relics; and, with the exception of those belonging to edifices *converted* to sacred purposes, or to pontifical buildings, the greater part of the superb columns of these churches must have been removed from their

* By gift of Otto the Milanese, Senator of Rome. This was at an earlier period, about 1348.

† Memor., num. 64, p. xi. in fin. Nardini.

‡ It was begun by Cardinal Mezzarota, and finished by Cardinal Raphael Riario. The architect was Bramante Lazari.—*Roma moderna*, da Venuti, &c. tom. i. p. 203, Rione vi.

ancient site. We are obliged to the designs of Raffael and Palladio for the appearance of some fabrics now destroyed; and those who peruse the topographers from Blondus to Nardini will assign to the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the succeeding 150 years, a greater activity of destruction than to those immediately preceding ages in which we have no authentic writers to tell us what was left or what was lost.

Besides the devastation before noticed, it may be remarked, that Donatus gives an account of remains of *Thermæ Olympiadis*, *Thermæ Novatianæ*, on the Viminal hill;* that the same topographer saw something of the Thermæ of Agrippa, and also of those of Nero or Alexander; that the fragment of a temple, supposed of the Sun, built by Aurelian, now in the Colonna gardens, was then raised upon a portion of the wall of that building; that Marlianus had seen the arch dedicated to Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius; that the circus called Flaminius had very determinable vestiges when seen by Lætus, Fulvius, and Marlianus, but is talked of by Nardini as no longer in existence; that the same writers had observed many more relics of the theatre of Pompey than could be traced in the next age, although they were so small, even before their time, as to be overlooked by Poggio; that a huge fragment behind the Pantheon, called by some *Templum Boni*

* Lib. iii. cap. xi.

Eventus, has disappeared since Nardini wrote; that the remains of the Minervium, distinctly seen by Fulvius and Marlianus, and not altogether lost in the middle of the last century,* are also consumed; that the vaulted cell of a structure in the Vatican, called a temple of Apollo, or of Mars, and seen in the pictures of the Vatican library, has been incorporated or lost in the baptistery of St. Peter's.

The embellishment of the rising city, vigorously pursued till the middle of the seventeenth century, was the first object of the pontiffs: the preservation of the architectural remains appears to have been a rare and secondary design. When that embellishment had ceased to be the passion of the popes, the dilapidation may be supposed to have been discontinued. The last *recorded* destruction was that before mentioned of the arch in the Corso, by Alexander VII. No other ancient fabric can perhaps be proved to have been purposely thrown down or defaced since that period. A fragment of the Coliseum, which was shaken to the ground in the earthquake of 1703, was laudably employed in constructing the stairs of the Ripetta.

The frequent repairs of the Pantheon, those of the Antonine and Trajan columns, the erection of the obelisks, the restoration of the Cestian pyramid, and the late protection of the Flavian amphitheatre, with

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* See Venuti Roma Moderna, tom. i. p. 272, Rione ix.

that of the arch of Constantine,* seem to compose the sum of all the merits of all the popes, as far as respects the stable fabrics of antiquity. The Romans of the present day are not the last to allow, that until the late usurpation, either the will, or the means, or the method, had been wanting effectually to oppose the ravages of violence and time. The taste and magnificence of the popes must be sought, and will be found in the museums of the Vatican and the Capitol. It was reserved for the conquerors who plundered those noble repositories to recompense Rome for her losses, by clearing away the offals and dirt, which had accumulated for ages round the buried temples at the foot of the Capitol, and under the windows of the Senate House, by cleansing the base, and propping the porches of the Coliseum, by removing the soil in front of the Temple of Peace, by re-opening the Baths of Titus, and finally by excavating the Forum of Trajan, a work of itself superior to all the meritorious exertions of Sixtus Quintus and Braschi. The impulse given by the government of Napoleon† continued the

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* In 1733, by Clement XII., to whom, in the interior of the wall, sunk round the arch, is the following inscription. Clementi XII. Pont. Max. quod arcum Imp. Constantino Magno erectum, ob relatam salutari crucis signo victoriam, jam temporum injuriis fatiscentem veteribus redditis ornamentis restituerit. Anno D. 1733. Pont. iii. S. P. Q. R. Optimo Principi ac pristinæ majestatis urbis adsertori, Pos.—The senate and people took care to record their credulity as well as their gratitude.

† For a detailed account of the efforts made by the French government to restore and preserve the ancient monuments of Rome,

labours in the Forum, and the repairs of the Coliseum; and the attention of the pontiffs being at last directed to the preservation of relics, which have succeeded to the attraction once possessed by their spiritual treasures, it may be hoped that the ruins of Rome have no more to dread from outrage or neglect. The inundations of the Tiber have of late years been either less violent, or are more easily reduced, than in the days of ignorance and distress.* With the exception of the cell of the temple, now called Minerva Medica, which was

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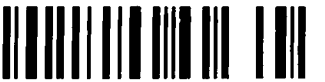
I would refer to the Count de Tournon's second volume. His tenth and last chapter shows how much was done in four years, from 1810 to 1814, for that purpose. There is no doubt that, in that short period, more was planned and executed by the French administration than by all the Popes and other successive masters of the Eternal City, from the fall of the Empire to the beginning of the present century. (See ETUDES STATISTIQUES SUR ROME, *et la partie occidentale des* ETATS ROMAINS, par le COMTE DE TOURNON, *Pair de France*, &c. 2me edit. 1855, vol. ii. p. 258 et seq.) But it would be unjust not to acknowledge that recent Popes have not forgotten their duties in this respect. Gregory XVI. in particular, whose political policy has been denounced as cruel and unjust, cannot be said to have neglected the arts of peace; and Cardinal Wiseman is almost justified in saying that "scarcely any pontificate has their footsteps more deeply or more widely impressed in it than his" (*Four Popes*, p. 455). An affectionate tribute is paid to the memory of this Pope by the Cardinal, who, however, is somewhat afraid of being charged with forgetting the merits of the other three pontiffs, and concludes with saying that "he calls to mind the virtuous Gregory, not with deeper veneration than he entertains for Pius VII., not with warmer gratitude than for Leo XII., not with sincerer respect than for Pius VIII."—*Ibid.*, p. 531.

* All the latter inundations of the Tiber are noted on the columns, which serve as hygrometers at the Ripetta.

thrown down in 1812, no earthquake has, since the beginning of the last century, materially injured the ancient fabrics. What remains of them so nearly resembles the earliest authentic account of the ruins, that we may indulge a persuasion that they will still resist for ages the unassisted assaults of time.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.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